

Ancient B Nation

Buy of Gannell.

AN
INTRODUCTION
TO THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND:

OR,
AN INQUIRY INTO THE

ORIGIN,
RELIGION,
FUTURE STATE,
CHARACTER,
MANNERS,
MORALITY,
AMUSEMENTS,
PERSONS,
MANNER OF LIFE,

HOUSES,
NAVIGATION,
COMMERCE,
LANGUAGE,
GOVERNMENT,
KINGS,
GENERAL ASSEMBLIES,
COURTS OF JUSTICE,
AND JURIES,

OF THE
BRITONS, SCOTS, IRISH AND ANGLO-SAXONS.

By JAMES MACPHERSON, Esq;

The THIRD EDITION, revised and greatly enlarged.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. BECKET and P. A. DE HONDT in the Strand,
Booksellers to their Royal Highnesses the Prince of WALES
and Bishop of OSNABRUGH.

MDCCLXXIII.



P R E F A C E.

INQUIRIES into antiquity are so little the taste of the present age, that a writer who employs his time in that way deceives himself if he expects to derive either much reputation or any advantage from his work. Prejudiced against the subject, we add contempt to its natural sterility, and seem to wish for no information from a province which we have been taught to assign to fiction and romance. Under these impressions the Author of the Introduction wrote. Without any of the ordinary incitements to literary labour, he was induced to proceed by the sole motive of private amusement.

Notwithstanding the small hopes he entertains of reconciling the public judgment to

P R E F A C E.

the period which he has endeavoured to illustrate, he has taken some pains to present, in its most agreeable form, a subject not very capable of ornament. He has studied to be clear in disquisition, concise in observation, just in inference. An enemy to fiction himself, he imposes none upon the world. He advances nothing as fact without authorities; and his conjectures arise not so much from his own ingenuity, as from the proofs which the ancients have laid down before him.

The darkness, with which the prejudice and vanity of the Scots and Irish have covered their origin, has forced the Author to examine that point with a minuteness, which a dispute so unimportant seems not to deserve. But the disquisitions of many learned men had given a kind of consequence to the subject, when they rendered it perplexed and obscure. To extricate truth from the polemical rubbish of former antiquaries was a
task

P R E F A C E.

task of labour ; and the candid will forgive the length, on account of the propriety, of the disquisition, especially in a work which professedly treats of the antiquities of the British nations.

In that part of his work which relates to the dispute between the British and Irish Scots, the Author of the Introduction derives much of his information from the manuscript notes of the late very ingenious Dr. Macpherson, whose Dissertations on the Antiquities of the northern Britain are in the hands of the learned. In the other provinces of his subject, he has availed himself of the industry of some modern writers ; but he neither borrows their sentiments, nor relies upon their judgment. He looks upon antiquity through the medium of the ancients, and thinks he sees it in its genuine state. His work is formed on the general result of the information which the writers of Greece and Rome have transmitted from

P R E F A C E.

every quarter : and if his system is not satisfactory, it, at least, is new.

The ample materials furnished by the northern nations, on the subject of the ancient superstition, have enabled the Author to throw a strong light on the tenets which had such a wonderful effect on the manners of our ancestors. Though an almost impenetrable darkness has covered the antiquities of the Anglo-Saxons, before their arrival in Britain, some particulars are rescued from oblivion which deduce the spirit and genius of our present constitution from the remotest times.

Several answers have appeared, against that part of the Introduction, which treats of the antiquities of the British and Irish Scots. Some are written with candour and moderation, others with peevishness and petulance. Such objections, as seemed to have a specious foundation, are obviated in this edition : Ribaldry, is permitted to fall, unnoticed,

P R E F A C E.

noticed, and to wither on the soil, from which it sprung. . To be warm and to be scurrilous is often the same thing, with men of ordinary abilities : And few have the temper to carry on an argument, with that coolness, which is necessary to give it weight. The Author of the Introduction has NOW closed a proof, which his adversaries may, if they please, oppugn. On a subject so speculative, the opinions of men must vary ; and every writer has a right to carry his dissent before the tribunal of the Public. To them the decision is left. Where their judgment leans, there let the controversy rest. To write more upon the subject would be highly improper in one, who has thought it necessary to make an apology for having written so much. Fury itself cannot keep up the attention of the reader, through the dark rubbish of antiquity : And Authors seldom write, with a design of not being read.

Though

P R E F A C E.

Though the Author of the Introduction, is not so very fond of his system, as to deem it altogether infallible, he has not yet INGENUOUSLY confessed himself, in any respect, in the wrong : He is, therefore, sorry to find, that one of his learned opponents, has been so precipitate, as to mention such an unauthorized circumstance to the Public. Great allowances, however, are to be made, for that warmth and vehemence, which too often accompany ingenuity in polemical disquisition. Opinion, sometimes, is placed, by the zealous, in the room of fact ; and, in such a case, a denial is a sufficient answer. The author is so far, from being convinced, by any thing advanced against him, that he adheres to every part of his system : And he is the more confirmed, in his opinion of the justness of his arguments, by the weakness of those of his opponents.

CON-

CONTENTS.

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

R EFLECTIONS on Antiquity,	Page 1
Ignorance of the Middle Ages,	7
Revival of Critical Learning,	10

STATE OF ANCIENT EUROPE.

Preliminary Observations,	13
The Celtæ,	18
The Cimbri,	26
The European Sarmatæ,	32
The Slavi,	39
Origin of the European Nations,	43

ORIGIN OF THE ANCIENT BRITISH NATIONS.

Preliminary Reflections,	46
GAËL, the first Colony,	50
CIMBRI, the second Colony,	55
BELGÆ, the third Colony,	64
Observations on the Three British Nations,	69
Ancient Names of Britain,	72

THE CALEDONIANS.

Preliminary Observations,	74
Origin of the Caledonians,	79

THE

C O N T E N T S.

THE ANCIENT SCOTS.

<i>Preliminary Reflections,</i>	89
<i>Origin of the Scots,</i>	91

THE ANCIENT IRISH.

<i>Preliminary Observations,</i>	95
<i>Origin of the Irish according to Ossian and Whitaker,</i>	96
<i>Genuine Origin of the Irish,</i>	100
<i>Letters unknown in Ancient Ireland,</i>	106

ANTIQUITIES OF THE BRITISH AND IRISH SCOTS.

<i>Preliminary Observations,</i>	123
<i>Spanish Extraction of the Irish examined and confuted,</i>	125
<i>Scandinavian Extraction of the Irish confuted,</i>	136

IRISH EXTRACTION OF THE SCOTS EXAMINED.

<i>General Reflections,</i>	142
<i>The Scots not of Irish Extract,</i>	144
<i>Proved from various Arguments,</i>	156

THE PRETENDED TESTIMONY OF FOREIGN WRITERS EXAMINED, AND CONFUTED.

<i>General Reflections,</i>	162
<i>Claudian,</i>	163
<i>Orosius.—Isidorus,</i>	171
<i>Gildas,</i>	173
<i>Bede,</i>	176
<i>Nennius.—General Observations,</i>	183

ARGUMENTS AND PROOFS AGAINST THE IRISH EXTRACT OF THE SCOTS.

<i>Stillington and Usher examined,</i>	188
<i>Rise and Progress of the Fiction,</i>	193
	<i>Negative</i>

C O N T E N T S.

<i>Negative Arguments,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	197
<i>Positive Proofs,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	202

RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT BRITISH NATIONS.

<i>Preliminary Reflections,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	208
<i>Their Idea of the Unity of God,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	210
<i>Their pretended Polytheism,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	213
<i>Their pretended Worship of the Heavenly Bodies,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	216
<i>Their superstitious Ceremonies,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	220
<i>Their Divinations,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	224
<i>Reflections,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ibid.

IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

<i>General Reflections,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	228
<i>Opinions of the Celtae on that subject,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	231
<i>The Paradise of the ancient British Nations,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	236

CHARACTER, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE ANCIENT BRITISH NATIONS.

<i>Their Character,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	244
<i>Their Amusements and Diversions,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	249
<i>Their Morality and Poetry,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	255
<i>Their Persons, and Women,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	260
<i>Their Manner of Life,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	268
<i>Their Houses, Navigation, and Commerce,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	278

GOVERNMENT OF THE ANCIENT BRITISH NATIONS.

<i>Reflections on the Origin of Government,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	286
<i>Form of the Ancient British Government,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	289
<i>Their Justice,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	293

LANGUAGE OF THE ANCIENT BRITISH NATIONS.

<i>General Observations,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	298
<i>The Language of Ancient Britain,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	303
<i>The Latin and Gaëlic compared,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	306

AN

C O N T E N T S

AN INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

<i>Preliminary Observations,</i>	-	-	-	-	315
<i>Reflections on the Fall of the Romans,</i>	-	-	-	-	317
<i>General Reflections on the Sarmatæ,</i>	-	-	-	-	323
<i>Origin of the Anglo-Saxons,</i>	-	-	-	-	329

RELIGION OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

<i>Preliminary Observations,</i>	-	-	-	-	334
<i>Gods of the Anglo-Saxons,</i>	-	-	-	-	340
<i>Reflections on a future State,</i>	-	-	-	-	349
<i>The Hall of Odin,</i>	-	-	-	-	355
<i>The Regions of Hela,</i>	-	-	-	-	361
<i>The Twilight of the Gods,</i>	-	-	-	-	368

GOVERNMENT OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

<i>Preliminary Observations,</i>	-	-	-	-	376
<i>Their Kings,</i>	-	-	-	-	380
<i>Their general Assemblies,</i>	-	-	-	-	388
<i>Origin of Juries,</i>	-	-	-	-	396

Joseph Hanville,

AN
INTRODUCTION
TO THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

Reflections on Antiquity.

THE information of the mind, like the sight of ^{Various} the eye, is circumscribed within narrow bounds. ^{causes} Objects, on this side of a certain line, are seen with precision: beyond it confusion begins, and all things gradually disappear in shades. We look back on antiquity, as travellers on an extensive country, through which they have passed: and we often ascribe to an accidental haziness, the imperfect view of the distant prospect, which

B

proceeds

proceeds from our want of powers. Mankind seem only capable of carrying down some account of themselves, through a portion of time. The burden of history galls them, as it grows in their progress. They throw a part of it away; and the more antient transactions sink, by degrees, into oblivion, independent of those accidents, to which the means of recording events, as well as all other sublunary things, are subjected by fate.

of the imper-
fection

Men, who measure the age of the world, by the progress which the arts have made, seem to forget the natural instability of human affairs. States and kingdoms, should they escape the ravages of external force, are subject to domestic decay. A languor sometimes prevails, in which the inventions of ages expire. The mind slumbers in the shade of ignorance, till having, as it were, recovered its elasticity from repose, it produces, from its own inherent abilities, those very arts, which might have been brought down, on the current of time. In the gloomy space behind this revival of the arts, posterity place the origin of mankind. The prospect sets upon the sight at that point, and they fondly imagine, that no portion of existence lies far beyond their view.

of antient

Revolutions in the state of society, and accidental languors of the human mind, are not, however, the
most

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

most likely circumstances to stop the current of history, as it comes down from antiquity. The lines of violent and abrupt changes are obvious on the face of nature. The rugged features of the earth are expressive of convulsions, in which the human species, with all their inventions, might, in a great measure, have perished. This globe, though smoothed over into some regularity by the flux of time, appears not to be what it once has been. Its internal parts are jumbled together in wild confusion; and some shocks have certainly passed over it, which might have repeatedly expunged, from its face, the feeble monuments of civil improvements.

Philosophy has enabled mankind to know, with precision, the properties of small portions of matter: but we occupy too narrow a circle of time to extend our enquiries, with exactness, to the changes which the body of the universe may suffer, in the progress of years. The earth, say the Indians, like its productions, is subject to renovation: and there is no great absurdity in the opinion. This change may have been undergone, with a violence fatal to the existence of almost all the animals that crawl along its face. The few of the human species that should escape, might, perhaps, lose the memory of so dreadful an event, in their fears; or, destitute of the means of transmitting it to posterity, by

INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY, &c.

permanent monuments, trust it to tradition, which would expire in the course of time.

Real origin
of mankind.

But an enquiry of this kind can neither be satisfactory nor necessary to the present design. The origin of the means of transmitting facts, is the point, in which mankind, with respect to posterity, begin to exist. The space of time beyond it, being lost to us, is added to that eternity, which is as unimportant in itself, as it is impossible to be known. We may even extend our knowledge, though in an imperfect degree, to some ages beyond the invention, or at least the use of letters. The light, when kindled, threw a feeble ray behind it; and from the brightened side of the objects, we learn, that they existed, though we cannot distinctly see their form.

Letters rather the invention of a certain stage of society, than of any particular country.

Letters, it appears from the general history of mankind, are not the peculiar invention of any nation. They rose in various parts of the earth; and they, indeed, seem to be the produce of a certain degree of civilization, rather than the particular growth of any region. In China, in India, in antient Persia, in Babylonia, various alphabets were known, long before Phœnicia sent her characters to Greece. They sprung, in all those countries, from the same cause; the commerce in the conveniences and luxuries of life, which an advanced
state

state of civilization established among the people. In the rudest stage of society, a kind of mercantile intercourse exists between barbarians themselves. But the articles are coarse and few ; and they, therefore, adhere to the memory, without the assistance of signs. On a more advanced stage, the wants of mankind increase, in proportion to their refinements. The luxuries of life are small and many, and they gradually become necessary to mankind. The merchant invents figures, to recal the memory of his goods to his mind ; and a people addicted to commerce, adopt naturally general marks, to facilitate the intercourse, of which their peculiar mode of life altogether consists.

A community has advanced far in society, before individuals have either time or inclination to cultivate the powers of the mind by speculation. Superstition being inherent in human nature, priests seem to have been the first philosophers. Men of active and pervading minds, chuse to derive subsistence from the labour of others, rather than from their own toil. They retire into the haziness, which terror has placed between the Divinity and their ignorant countrymen ; and raising a tumult in the gloom, extort a tribute from fear. In the leisure, furnished by the emoluments which their ingenuity has procured, they apply the marks invented by the merchant,

Priests the
first record-
ers of events.

chant, to a mode of recording the history of their superstition; and connected, as they are from their office, with the secular affairs of the community, they carry down some account of the transactions of their state, in the body of their mythology.

Ruin history
by fiction.

The priest, though perhaps the inventor, was a great enemy to history. He blended facts with so much of the marvellous, that historians, in despair of being able to separate truth from fiction, threw away the whole mass, and consigned ages to darkness and oblivion. The vanity of writers contributed also to the gloom, which covers remote antiquity. Flattering the age in which they lived, they hastened to relate transactions, rendered important by their proximity to the times. A dry recapitulation supplied the place of antient history; which had no effect upon mankind, but to render useless former authors: and thus a passage was opened to that loss of writers, which the few, who look back into antiquity, so much deplore.

Observations.

All these causes conspire to render antiquity a perplexed and sterile subject. Antiquaries may fly back into the gloom, upon wild conjecture; but their discoveries, though ingenious, will seldom carry conviction to the mind. The land through which they travel is inhabited
by

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

7

by phantoms and strange forms; and many false lights are held forth, which lead to dangerous precipices and deadly fens. The curiosity of the rest of mankind does not even follow them in their researches: they labour for their toil; and derive a painful amusement from a field which produces no laurels.

Ignorance of the Middle Ages.

Nations, like mankind, advance insensibly from in-
fancy to youth. The scenes of puerility are forgot, or
neglected with contempt, by the pride of riper years.
Few have any inclination to look back upon transactions
rendered unimportant by the smallness of their object;
and when men of curiosity and philosophy turn their
eyes to the beginnings of a state, the prospect is vanished
quite, or covered with a deep and impenetrable shade.
Communities, if they think at all of the subject of their
origin, are apt to deduce it from the marvellous; and,
like heroes whose births were clandestine, derive their
descent from the Gods.

Nothing, however, is more certain, than that the
greatest nations; like the noblest rivers, take often their
rise from a scanty source. The state that may happen
to give laws to the half of mankind, sprang perhaps
from

Reflections
on the

gradual rise
of nations.

from vagabonds and felons; just as the stream, which carries navies on its bosom to the ocean, hides its head in some fen in the desert. To mark the gradual growth of a people, as they come down through time, is a pleasure which philosophy only derives from history. The weak and unintelligent, with a pride peculiar to narrow minds, despise the rude elements of that system of society, from which their country receives its importance, on the scale of nations. Their vanity induces them to believe, that THEY are personally concerned in late transactions; when it is only the weight of the state, cemented together by time, which carries forward its affairs with renown.

Aversion of
the northern
nations to
letters.

The contempt of letters, which distinguished the northern nations, contributed to render their antiquities unimportant, on account of the gloom by which they are veiled. Fierce and untractable by nature, and bred from their infancy to incursion and depredation, they thought every pursuit not immediately subservient to the profession of arms, mean and dishonourable. They little considered that this prejudice was a fatal enemy to the fame which they sought after with so much eagerness in the field. In vain were exploits worthy of memory performed, when the only certain means of transmitting them to posterity were discouraged and despised.

In

In the cloud of ignorance which involved them at home, they advanced into the provinces of the western empire. Learning, which had long languished among the Romans, expired with the power of that illustrious people; and Europe, in a great measure, returned to its original rudeness and barbarity. When the detached tribes, who had subverted the government of the Romans, formed themselves into regular communities, some knowledge of letters began to revive; but the Christian clergy, following the policy of their predecessors the Druids, confined that knowledge to themselves.

To record temporal events was not the first use made of letters by the religious of the middle ages. Miracles, visions, and the lives of saints, were more important subjects, than the transactions of states and kingdoms, in the eyes of a race of men whose influence depended upon keeping mankind in the shades of ignorance and superstition. Monks and hermits became illustrious in cells and in deserts, when the monarchs of Europe sat in obscurity upon their thrones. But had they even looked back into ancient times, their information would have been unsatisfactory and circumscribed. Philosophy had not opened their minds; they saw all things through mist, and the indistinct objects came forward with a monstrous magnitude upon their eyes.

highly unfavourable
to history.

Revival of Critical Learning.

The feudal
establiſh-
ments intro-
duce histori-
cal inquiry.

The North, which, upon the decline of the Romans, had filled the provinces of the western empire with its colonies, ſent abroad freſh armies of adventurers in the eighth and ninth ages. Theſe, ſettling in ſome of the regions of the South, gave a new turn to the genius of the European nations. The feudal eſtabliſhments, introduced, or, at leaſt, revived and confirmed by them, gave ſtability to government, and were highly favourable to a ſpirit of national dignity and independence. Lands and honours becoming hereditary, gave birth to a pride of family among the great barons; and they endeavoured to add luſtre to the diſtinctions which they had acquired, by tracing their anceſtors through the ſame path of eminence to a remote antiquity. From individuals this genealogical enthuſiaſm ſpread to whole communities. Men poſſeſſed of the little literature of the times, and a talent for fable, either through want of information or vanity, indulged the romantic paſſions of an ignorant race of men, by deducing the origin of their reſpective nations from very diſtant æras. The antiquities of every country in Europe furniſhed an ample field of fiction; and it was impoſſible to form tales too extravagant or improbable

probable for the credulity of the age. It is therefore no matter of wonder that we possess such a mass of legends for the ancient history of those nations, who, for many centuries, have made a figure in Europe.

The revival of critical learning has enabled foreigners to extricate, in a great measure, their antiquities from the fables of the middle ages. In Britain we content ourselves with looking back with contempt on the credulity of our ancestors. From a pride incident to polished times, we are apt to think, and perhaps with some justice, that the transactions of the infancy of society are as unworthy of remembrance as they are imperfectly known. But this observation has been made, not more to depreciate our ancestors, than to cover a glaring defect in ourselves. The British nations, till of late years, were much more remarkable for the performance of great actions in the field, than for recording them with dignity and precision in the closet.

The history of ancient Britain neglected.

Men of abilities have removed this reproach from the nation. The latter periods of our history are reduced into form and precision; but the early part of our annals still remains in the possession of fiction and romance. Some writers who have lately retired into ancient times, have lost themselves in system. They have erected kingdoms, in the void of our antiquities; and

Writers of antiquities reprehended.

and amuse themselves in scenes, which their own fancy formed. Others have added the weight of tedious disquisition to a subject naturally dull; and have removed all ornament, from a field already uninviting on account of its sterility.

Design of
the Author.

To dispel the shades which cover the antiquities of the British nations; to investigate their origin; to carry down some account of their character, manners, and government, into the times of records and domestic writers; to steer clear of the shoals, on which others have been lost, is the design of this introduction. The abilities of the Author are perhaps inadequate to so arduous an undertaking; but as he travels back into antiquity with some advantages which others have not possessed, he flatters himself that he shall be able to throw a new, if not a satisfactory light, on a subject hitherto little understood. Though, for want of sufficient guides, he should sometimes lose his way in a region of clouds and darkness, his hopes of the indulgence of the public are greater than his fears of their censure.

STATE

S T A T E
O F
A N C I E N T E U R O P E.

Preliminary Observations.

MANY writers deduce mankind from one source; Fallacy of the argument. and the general line of character, which runs through the human species, under every climate, is the best argument for an opinion so universal. Their position on the face of the earth, and the soil which they possess, have, however, the same effect upon nations, as upon vegetable productions. The mind, in some measure, partakes of the nature of the food which sustains the body; and ingenuity often proceeds from that light and vigorous atmosphere, which gives its healthful salieney to the blood. Many regions in Europe seem calculated to produce a race of men, that might, in the progress of time, have polished themselves, without an adventitious importation of the arts from other countries; and therefore the supposed barbarism, which covered the nations of the North, when the first light from

from Greece gleamed over their tribes, might furnish a kind of argument, that they were but a new people in the lands which they possessed.

Of measuring the age of the world

But we have already observed, that the progress of the arts of civil life, is, by no means, a just measure of the age of the world. Two thousand years have, since the beginning of history, passed over the nations of Africa, without polishing them from their natural barbarism. The natives of America, during more than two centuries, in which they have been known, wander after their game, over a vast continent; and the Tartars of the Eastern Asia, notwithstanding their vicinity to the civilized empires of Persia, India, and China, retain the rudeness of the ancient Scythians unimpaired. To calculate the antiquity of mankind by their arts, would be to affirm, that the world is old in China, and only lately produced in the extensive deserts of the Calmuc Ordas.

by the progress

The useful arts, besides, in themselves are simple: one rises naturally from another; and the first invented is rather the fruit of accident, than the produce of abilities of mind. Man, an active animal by nature, is fond of changing place. He is born a hunter, and he thirsts, from constitution, for blood. War and the chase are his first occupations; and from these pursuits,
being

being a wanderer, he neither has leisure to invent, nor would those sedentary arts, which polish society, be of any use to his mode of life. A series of many ages might have passed over mankind, in such a state, without bearing a single impression of any permanent event. One generation would succeed another, as the equal waves of a lake, under a constant and settled breeze; without any difference in their magnitude, or object floating on the surface, to mark them, as they roll, to the eye.

In such a state of society, a convulsion in the great ^{of the arts.} body of nature, which might destroy, in its shock, the bulk of mankind, could transmit its memory only through a small portion of time. The effect itself would not even be permanent. The swarm, though scattered and discomposed, would again return to the hive: the business of life would go on, as if nothing had happened; and the few arts that were lost, would begin to spring from the seeds of ingenuity, placed by nature, in the human mind. Mankind might thus have gone forward through a long circle of unreckoned time; and an opinion rises from this observation, that neither the earth, nor any state of the animals which it produces, bear any distinguished features to mark, with certainty, the age of the world. We must ascend from
reason.

reason to the region of faith ; and admit as an article of religion, what can neither be proved by argument, nor supported by obvious facts.

Reflections.

The Author of the Introduction has inadvertently wandered into these reflections ; and he is far from thinking them necessary to his subject. The antiquary must take up mankind, as he finds them, at the earliest dawn of history : he inquires not into the origin of the species, when he investigates that of a nation. Imperfect as we seem to ourselves, we are too large an object, taken in a collective sense, to be comprehended in the ideas of an individual. The period of time, through which the human race have moved, is extensive with regard to themselves. The eye aches in looking back on the beginning of the procession ; and it even totally disappears, in the haziness which is always settled on distance of space.

On the migrations of nations.

Whether the Northern nations were born in the countries which they possessed, when the first light of history arose in Europe, or were wanderers from other regions, is a point of no importance, and must be left to conjecture. Asia is said to have been the great hive, from which all nations originally swarmed. But if this was the case, it was at a period placed beyond the information

ation of the writers of Greece and Rome. The course of migration was changed before THEY began to record events. Many nations of Asia may be traced to their source in Europe *; but if we except a few trading settlements, established by the petty states of Phœnicia, on the shores of the Mediterranean, it is impossible to derive any European community, from ancestors in the East. The origin of nations is not important enough to be decided by faith; we shall therefore content ourselves, upon that head, with the imperfect information transmitted by profane writers, from antiquity.

* Dionys. Halic. p. 14. Pomp. Mela, lib. i. Strabo, lib. v.—lib. xiii. Herodot. lib. vii.

reason to the region of faith; and admit as an article of religion, what can neither be proved by argument, nor supported by obvious facts.

Reflections.

The Author of the Introduction has inadvertently wandered into these reflections; and he is far from thinking them necessary to his subject. The antiquary must take up mankind, as he finds them, at the earliest dawn of history: he inquires not into the origin of the species, when he investigates that of a nation. Imperfect as we seem to ourselves, we are too large an object, taken in a collective sense, to be comprehended in the ideas of an individual. The period of time, through which the human race have moved, is extensive with regard to themselves. The eye aches in looking back on the beginning of the procession; and it even totally disappears, in the haziness which is always settled on distance of space.

On the migrations of nations.

Whether the Northern nations were born in the countries which they possessed, when the first light of history arose in Europe, or were wanderers from other regions, is a point of no importance, and must be left to conjecture. Asia is said to have been the great hive, from which all nations originally swarmed. But if this was the case, it was at a period placed beyond the information

ation of the writers of Greece and Rome. The course of migration was changed before THEY began to record events. Many nations of Asia may be traced to their source in Europe *; but if we except a few trading settlements, established by the petty states of Phoenicia, on the shores of the Mediterranean, it is impossible to derive any European community, from ancestors in the East. The origin of nations is not important enough to be decided by faith; we shall therefore content ourselves, upon that head, with the imperfect information transmitted by profane writers, from antiquity.

* Dionys. Halic. p. 14. Pomp. Mela, lib. i. Strabo, lib. v.—lib. xiii. Herodot. lib. vii.

The Celtæ.

Æra of the
introduc-
tion of let-
ters

Syria, the inventress of letters†, is called the Mother of Nations. The Phœnicians, according to some of the ancients‡, sailing into the islands of the Ægean, dispossessed the Pelasgi, the most ancient inhabitants of Greece||, about two ages before the war of Troy. Letters were no part of the improvements which they brought into Europe; and even their arrival in Greece, in so early a period, is involved in that uncertainty, which obscures the origin of an illiterate people.

among the
Greeks,

The Syrians, mixing with the Pelasgi of Peloponnesus and the northern shores of the Ægean, rose gradually into various communities and states. A colony from Attica, under the name of Ionians, established themselves on the Asiatic side of the Mediterranean, near two centuries after the Trojan war. Their vicinity to the Phœnicians occasioned an early intercourse, between the Ionians and a people from whom they, in some

† Si famæ libet credere, gens Tyrriorum literas prima docuit aut didicit. Curtius, lib. iv.

‡ Herodot. lib. ii.

|| Οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δυναστευσάντων ἀρχαιότατοι λέγονται. Strabo, lib. vii.

measure, derived their origin ||. They imported from them, among other ingenious arts, the use of letters, and communicated these to their mother nation in Europe*. This circumstance seems to fix the first invention of the alphabet, in the intermediate space of time, between the transmigration of the Phœnicians into Greece, and the settlement of the Ionians in the territory of Miletus.

To record public events is not the earliest use made of letters, by any nation. Pherecydes wrote the first work in prose, near a thousand years after the pretended arrival of Cadmus †. The æra of true history is posterior to that period. When the writers of Greece began to extricate their domestic transactions from fable, they threw some feeble light on the Barbarians of the North and West. Two nations, in a great variety of tribes, possessed the vast continent of Europe. The Hyperboreans ‡, afterwards distinguished by the name

who throw
the first light

|| Φοινικῆϊα γράματα Λυδοὶ καὶ Ἴωνες τὰ γράματα ἀπὸ Φοίνικος τοῦ Ἀγένορος εὐροντός ἐλαβον. Suidas, tom. iii.

* Gentium consensus tacitus, primus omnium conspiravit, ut Ionum literis uterentur. Plin. lib. vii.

† Prosam orationem condere Pherecydes Scyrus instituit. Plin. lib. vii.

‡ Hyperborei quasi supra Aquilonis flatum habitantes.

of Celtæ §, extended themselves from the pillars of Hercules || to the banks of the Vistula * and Tanais †, from the Hellespont to the shores of the Baltic. The regions to the north-east of the Danube, from the Euxine to the Frozen Ocean, were perambulated, rather than inhabited, by the Sarmatæ. Between the Baltic and the extremities of the North, lay the ancient Scandinavians, whose posterity, upon the decline of the Romans, carried into the South undoubted proofs of their being a different race of men from the Celtæ.

on the
northern
nations.

But these distinctions of name, among the first rude inhabitants of Europe, sprung from the discoveries of after ages. The nations of the North only, rose clearly to view, in the progress of the Roman arms. The general designation of Scythians comprehended all the barbarous natives of the vast continent, which extends from the Oby to the pillars of Hercules ‡; and it even passed from Europe to the regions of the northern Asia. When, from the accident of internal improvement, or

§ Μνασσεας δὲ φησι, τοὺς Ὑπερβορείους Κελτοὺς λεγέσθαι. Apud Apollonii Scholiastem.

|| Celtæ occidua Europæ usque ad Gades incolunt. Strabo, lib. ii.

* Sarmatia Vistula amne discreta. Pomp. Mela, lib. iii.

† Circa Tanaim Sarmatarum gentes degunt. Plin. lib. 2.

‡ Veteres Græcorum scriptores universas gentes septentrionales Scytharum nomine affecerunt. Strabo, lib. xi.

the

the wandering disposition, natural to Barbarians, whose occupation is hunting and war, the Nomades of the North advanced near the confines of the Greeks, who were a literary nation, some light fell upon their tribes. But it was a feeble, partial, and indistinct light. The magnitude of the object was seen: its various parts disappeared in haziness and distance, and an ample field was left for fancy and wild conjecture.

By the general consent of the ancients, all the No-^{Migrations}made^{of the} or Scythæ of the western Europe spoke the same Celtæ; language, though in a variety of dialects, and were distinguished by the same customs, manners, and religion. This circumstance argues, with invincible force, that they swarmed originally from the same hive. But the first revolutions, which spread the wild nations, called Celtæ, over the face of Europe, lie buried in the impenetrable darkness, which must forever cover the ancient history of the nations of the North. Gaul, in all probability, was the center, from which they diverged themselves on all sides. The rude tribes, who inhabited that vast country, pervaded Europe, with their migrating armies, in a period beyond the reach of history *.

* Ferox natio pervagata bello prope orbem terrarum. Liv. lib. xxxviii.

Spain;

Spain †; Italy ‡; Germany §; between the Rhine and the Baltic; Britain, over all its isles ||; the eastern shore of the Adriatic; the countries which border on the Hellespont * and Ægean, were filled with colonies from Gaul, in whom the old inhabitants, if they differed originally from the Gaël, were lost. This revolution gave birth to the name of Celtæ, which is an adjective derived from GAËL, the aboriginal name of the inhabitants of the extensive country, bounded by the ocean, the Rhine, the Alps, and Pyrenæan mountains.

† Galli occidua Europæ usque ad Gades incolunt. Strabo, lib. ii.

Ἀλκιμωτάτοι μὲν τῶν Γαλατῶν οἱ καλοῦμενοι Λυσίταινοι. Diod. Sic. lib. v.

Celticos in Bœtica, a Celtiberis in Lusitania advenisse manifestum est sacris, lingua, oppidorum vocabulis. Plin. lib. iii.

Gallorum Celtæ miscentes nomen Iberis. Lucan. lib. iv.

‡ Umbrorum gens antiquissima Italiæ existimatur. Plin. lib. iii.

Umbri prima veterum Gallorum proles. Servius in Æneid. xii.

Gallorum veterum propaginem Umbros esse Marcus Antonius refert. Solin. viii.

§ Ac fuit antea tempus, cum Galli propter hominum multitudinem, agrique inopiam, trans Rhenum colonias mitterent. Cæsar, lib. vi.

Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse, summus auctorum Divus Julius tradit, eoque credibile est Gallos in Germaniam transgressos. Tacit. Germ. xxviii.

|| In universum tamen æstimanti Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est. Tacit. Agric. xi.

Britanni non multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine. Cæsar, lib. v.

* Meridiem versus ab Istro, sunt Illyricum et Thracia, et qui permiscuntur Celtici, aliique populi ad Græciam usque. Strabo, lib. vi.

Though

Though some ingenious critics pretend to have found the name of Celtæ in Homer*, the first mention of that appellation was in fact made by Herodotus in the eighty-seventh olympiad, or four hundred and thirty-two years before the Christian æra. To trace the channel, from which the celebrated writer derived his information, we must return to a period of remote antiquity. The Pelasgi of Peloponnesus, and the islands of the Ægean, were the first of the European Nomades, who quitted the ambulatory life of their ancestors, and applied themselves to the arts of civil life. Induced by the fine climate of Greece, they gradually settled in fixed abodes; while yet their rude brethren to the North wandered after their cattle or game, over the face of Europe. Improving their navigation by degrees, they sailed to the West, seized upon the nearest coast of Italy †, and, moving into the heart of that country, met with the Gaël, called Umbri ‡, and rose, with them, into a mixed nation, under the name of Latines. Extending their

their name
communi-
cated to the
writers of
Greece,

* Κέλῃτα ἵππον Homerus vocat *equum desultorium*, et κελητίζειν ponitur pro *equo desultorio vehi*, sed Κέλῃτας adpellari ipsos fessores, apud nullum reperio auctorem antiquum.

† Ἐπειτα Πελασγῶν τινες, τῶν οἰκούντων ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ Θετταλῖα, τῶν ἑαυτῶν ἀναγκασθέντες ἐκλιπεῖν σύνοικοι γέγονται τοῖς Ἀβοριγῖσι. Dion. Halic. lib. i.

‡ Umbrorum gens antiquissima Italiæ. Plin. lib. iii.

Umbri prima veterum Gallorum proles. Servius in Æneid. xii.

navigation still further into the Mediterranean, the Phœceans made an establishment on the coast of Gaul. Massilia was founded by those adventurers, about six hundred years prior to our æra, when the elder Tarquin is said to have held the reins of government at Rome *.

by the Phœ-
ceans of
Massilia.

The Phœceans of Massilia delivered the name of the nation, among whom they had settled, to the first intelligent writers of their country. This information, however, seems not to have been conveyed to Greece for many years after the establishment of the colony on the coast of Gaul. Aristæus of Proconnesus, who flourished about the fiftieth olympiad, distinguished the Celtic nations only by the name of Hyperboreans. Herodotus, about one hundred and fifty years after Aristæus, speaks indeed of the Celtæ; but in such a manner, that he seems only to have known their name. “The Danube,” says he, “has its source in the
“country of the Celtæ, near the city of Pyrrhene:” and, in another place, he affirms, “That the Celtæ
“dwell beyond the pillars of Hercules: the last people
“established on the continent of Europe toward the
“West †.”

* Tempore Tarquinii regis Phœcensium juvenis Massiliam condidit. Justin. lib. xliii.

† Herodot. lib. ii. c. 33. lib. iv. c. 49.

The name of Celtæ, which appears to have been transmitted to Greece by the Massilian Phœceans, derived its origin, as has been observed, from the aboriginal name of GAËL. The etymon of the appellation seems to be justly given, by Eucherius, bishop of Lyons*, who deduces it from the remarkable whiteness of skin, by which the Celtic nations, and in particular the ancient Gauls, were distinguished. In the Gaëlic of North Britain GAËL literally signifies a fair complexion; and the same word is used, in a similar sense, by the ancient inhabitants of Ireland. But let the name be a primitive itself, or owe its origin to another word, it is certainly the source of the appellation of Celtæ, which extended itself in the remotest antiquity, to almost all the nations of Europe.

The information of the Greeks, concerning the northern nations, was extremely imperfect, long after Herodotus wrote. When they penetrated beyond the Danube, the two great nations, already mentioned, rose distinctly before them; and they seem to have differed from one another, as much as the barbarity common to both would permit. To the revolutions,

* Galli a CANDORE corporis primum appellati sunt. Eucher. Episc. Lugdun. de gent. iv.

Ταῖς δὲ σαρξὶ κάθυργοι καὶ λευκοί. Diod. Sic. de Gallis, lib. v.

which extended the aboriginal name of the western Scythians, to most of the wild tribes, who anciently inhabited Europe, we have applied our first enquiry. Rational conjectures must frequently, in a matter of such obscurity, supply the place of positive proofs; where the lights, which guide our steps through antiquity, are derived from writers of a much later date, than the facts to be established by their authority.

The Cimbri.

Observa-
tions.

The history of the Celtæ, before the arrival of the Phœceans in the Lygustic Sea, lies buried in impenetrable darkness; and even the colony, who settled in the territories of Massilia, dispelled little of the gloom, which covered the illiterate nations around. The perfect similarity of manners, which subsisted between all the most ancient inhabitants of Europe, as they rose gradually to light, seems to prove, beyond reply, that in some period, beyond the commencement of history, the vast country, which was comprehended under the general name of Gaul, sent migrating armies to the extremities of the West and North. The Greeks extending their information, with their colonies, along the shores of the Mediterranean, we become, in some measure, acquainted with

with the revolutions, which happened among the Celtæ, for more than five centuries before the Christian æra.

The improvements introduced by the Phœceans into on the Gaul, encouraged, in their beginning, the migrating disposition of its inhabitants. Agriculture, before imperfectly understood, was prosecuted with vigour and success*. The means of subsistence being augmented, population increased of course †; expeditions were formed to ease the country of its number of inhabitants; and the regions of Europe, being traversed, rather than peopled, by prior colonies from Gaul, received successive swarms of emigrants from the same country. In the course of some centuries, the domestic improvements, which, in the beginning of their progress, occasioned new emigrations of the GAËL, arrived at some degree of maturity. Instead of wandering in search of foreign settlements, they found it more convenient to cultivate those which they already possessed, and they became objects of depredation to their more barbarous neighbours. The spirit of conquest retired farther toward the North; and the tide of migration, which had repeatedly

* Ab his Galli usum vitæ cultioris et agrorum cultus didicerunt. Justin. lib. xliii.

† Gallia adeo frugum hominumque fertilis fuit, ut abundans multitudo vix regi videretur posse. Livius, lib. v.

flowed from Gaul, returned upon itself with redoubled violence. The German Celtæ* repassed the Rhine; committed terrible devastations; and acquired a just title to the name of Cimbri, which signifies a band, or rather a nation of robbers†.

revolutions

The extensive regions between the Rhine and the Baltic were possessed by Gaëlic or Celtic colonies, when they became first known to the writers of Greece and Rome. An unavoidable intercourse with the Sarmatæ beyond the Vistula and the Baltic, had such an effect upon their genius and manners, that some ancient writers distinguish them by the name of Celto-Scythæ‡, as a mark of their mixed origin. They, however, retained so many proofs of the prevalence of the blood of the Gaël, that some have thought the appellation of Germans pro-

* Celtæ sive Galli, quos Cimbros vocant. Appian. in Illyr.

Ἰπεὺς δὲ Γαλάτης το γένος, ἡ Κίμβρος. Plutarch. in Mario.

Καὶ μάλιστα μὲν εἰκάζοντο Γερμανικὰ γένη τῶν καθηκόντων ἐπὶ τὸν Βόρειον ὠκεανὸν εἶναι, τοῖς μεγέθεσι τῶν σωμάτων, καὶ τῇ χαροπότητι τῶν ἔμμάτων. Plutarchus in Mario.

† Κίμβροὺς ἐπονομάζουσι Γερμανοὶ τοὺς λησας. Plutarchus in Mario.

Ληστρικοὶ ὄντες καὶ πλανήτες οἱ Κίμβροι. Strabo, lib. iv.

‡ Cimbros, Celto-scythas diſcos exiſtimaverunt veteres auctores, quia Sarmatarum nonnulli immiſti fuerunt. Cluver. Germ. Antiq. lib. i.

ceeded from the similarity between the manners of the Gauls and the wild tribes, settled beyond the Rhine ||.

The disposition to migration, which, in after ages, ^{and migra-}_{tions} rendered the northern nations so formidable to the inhabitants of the south of Europe, sprung from the manner of life imposed upon them by the inclemency of their climate, and the sterility of their soil. The inseparable connections between the occupations of hunting and war habituated them to toil, and converted even danger itself into amusement. Attached to no fixed place of residence, the change of country displeased them not with its novelty; they wandered naturally toward the south, and every region was the home of a race of men to whom nations, as well as the beasts of the forest, were objects of prey. Their migrations were, however, gradual and universal; not a sudden inroad, or impetuous invasion. The tide came slowly, but it never ebbed, till the whole continent of the southern Europe was covered with the deluge.

In the third century before the Christian æra, the of the German Celtæ, under the name of Cimbri, ravaged all

|| Forma, et moribus, et victu adsimiles sunt Gallorum. Itaque recte mihi videntur Romani hoc nomen eis indidisse, cum eos fratres esse Gallorum vellent ostendere. Strabo, lib. vii.

the

the regions lying between the Rhine and the Ionian Sea *. They cut off the Illyrians, they subdued the Macedonians, though recent from the conquest of Asia. They passed from the continent to the islands of Greece; they crossed the Hellespont, and settling on the Asiatic shore of the Mediterranean, rose into a nation, which long retained the ferocious temper and invincible courage of their ancestors in the north of Europe †. At the same time, that some of the Celtic tribes to the north of the Rhine penetrated into Greece and the Lesser Asia, others, it is highly probable, extended themselves to Spain and to Britain. The ancient Lusitanians are, by some of the ancients, called Cimbri: and the aboriginal name of the inhabitants of the mountains of Wales leaves little room to doubt, that they derive their origin from that warlike people, who repeatedly covered Europe with their armies ‡.

* Hi, contractis undique copiis, ad Ionicum mare conversi, gentem Illyriorum, et quicquid gentium ad Macedonas usque habitat, immo ipsos Macedonas oppressere. Paus. Attic. iv.

† Romani Galatas, qui in Asia erant, debellarunt. Erant portio Galatarum occidentalium. Suid. T. i.

Gens Galatarum occidentalium, qui ex Celto-gallia in Bithyniam migraverant. Eratosthenes.

‡ Illi sunt qui magnam Europæ partem tributariam reddiderunt, agrosque debellatorum a se occuparunt. Diod. Sic. lib. v.

In less than two centuries after the first recorded expedition of the Cimbri, the Celtic Germans sent another fleece of adventurers, under the same name, into the regions of the South. This seems to have been a total migration. They wandered in quest of settlements, more than for plunder; being driven from their native home, by some great calamity, which its distance in antiquity has involved in darkness. An invasion from Scandinavia added probably its force to the love of migration, natural to the Cimbri. The terror, raised by the gradual and gloomy approach of the storm, was but a faint prelude of its dreadful ravages, when it came. Nations disappeared under the cloud, which kept Italy in awful suspense for some years; and it was, after it was broken by their arms, that the Romans became completely sensible of the danger which they had escaped. The subject of the general migrations of the German Celtæ will be resumed in a subsequent section; in which the origin of the British nations will be deduced, from great revolutions on the continent of Europe.

The European Sarmatæ.

Reflections
on the Eu-
ropean Sar-
matæ.

The successive migrations of the Barbarians of the North may be compared to the transient storms of a showery day. The sun scarce returns after one cloud is past, before another begins to gather in the same quarter of heaven. The short space between, is filled with that pleasing, but melancholy, serenity, which attends joys, whose period is approaching in view. The small portion of time, enlightened by history, raises a regret in the human mind for the finitude of its own knowlege; and that regret is accompanied with an anxious desire of hearing something of what passed, beyond the circle which circumscribes our information. To judge of ancient revolutions in the north of Europe, by the more recent transactions of its inhabitants, is a less exceptionable road to truth than the most of mankind will be willing to own. The motives, which suggested migration to the natives of the inhospitable regions, on the shores of the Baltic, within the information of writers, must have operated with equal force in periods of more remote antiquity; and we may conclude, that the southern Europe was visited by armies from the North, before even the former was possessed of the means of recording events.

The

The first irruption of the nations beyond the Rhine, transmitted down to posterity, is placed, as we have already observed, in the third century before our present æra. Near two ages after, the Celto-Germanic tribes threw another swarm of adventurers, under the name of Cimbri, into the regions of the South *. A new people accompanied the Cimbri in this expedition, who, in the designation of Teutoni, which signifies northern men †, carried with them a presumptive proof of their Scandinavian origin. The Cimbri being, in a great measure, the descendants of a colony of the Gaël, who settled, in remote antiquity, beyond the Rhine, spoke the Gaëlic language; and they naturally distinguished the Scandinavian Sarmatæ, by a name expressive of the situation of their country. The appellation of Morimarusa ‡, which they gave to the Baltic, is at once a proof of their language, and the descriptive propriety of the names, which they bestowed on men and things.

* Sexcentesimum et quadragesimum annum urbs nostra agebat, cum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma. Tacit. Germ. xxxvii. In the consulship of P. Cecilius Metellus Caprarius, and Cn. Papirius Carbo, 113 years before the Christian æra.

† Teutoni is a Celtic word signifying *northern men*: *Tua north, taoni men*, of the same import with the *Normans* of after ages.

‡ Philemon Morimarusam a Cimbris vocari dicit, hoc est mortuum mare. Plin. lib. iv.

The Baltic has no tides; it is indiscriminately called, to this day, *LOCH LÊN*, the full lake, or *MORMARUSE*, the dead sea, by the inhabitants of the mountains of Scotland.

to the south.

When the Celtic tribes between the Elb and the Gulph of Bothnia evacuated their territories, and poured into the Southern Europe, about forty-five years after the death of Alexander, the Sarmatæ of Scandinavia crossed the Baltic, and settled between the Vistula and the Drave, under the general name of Goths * and Vandals †. The Celto-Germans, who remained beyond the Elb, on the shores of the ocean, and in the peninsula of Juteland, gave the name of *TEUTONI*, or

* Ex Scanzia insulâ, cum regi suo, nomine Berich, Gothi quondam memorantur egressi. *Jornandes de rebus Gothicis.*

Meminisse debes, me initio de Scanziae insulæ gremio Gothos dixisse egressos. *Jornandes ubi supra.*

† Pari etiam modo Vandalorum, ab insula, quæ Scandinavia dicitur, adventavit. *Paul. Diacon. lib. i.*

Præliis ac rerum penuriâ Sarmatas Getas consumpsit. *Pomp. Lætus in Claudio.*

Igitur egressi de Scandinavia Vandali. *Paul. Diacon. lib. i.*

Gothi Vandalique ab antiquis Sarmatis originem ducunt. *Procop. lib. i.*

Vandalis adjicio Limovios sive Herulos, Rugios, Sidinos, Eudoses, ANGLOS, Caviones, Thuringos, Naithones, et Longobardos.

northern

northern men, to the Sarmatæ, who, after having passed from Scandinavia, became their neighbours on the continent and in the Danish isles. Instead of contending for the possession of the bleak shores of the Baltic, the Cimbri and Teutoni, in close alliance, endeavoured to procure for themselves better settlements, in a more favourable climate and soil.

The Teutoni were the first of the Scandinavian Sarmatæ, who invaded the South. The calamities, which overwhelmed those adventurers in their expedition, discouraged their countrymen, for more than two complete centuries, from similar attempts. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius, forgetting the misfortunes of their fathers, the Sarmatic Germans advanced into the regions of the South and East. A new bulwark against their invasion had started up in the power of the Romans. The military discipline of the legions stationed on the frontiers of Pannonia, frustrated all the efforts of the Barbarians, and obliged them to content themselves with the cold and sterile seats of their ancestors. But though unsuccessful in many succeeding attempts, they never lost sight of the object, till the growing imbecillity of the empire opened the south and west to their arms.

Their first
irruption.

The Celtic nations beyond the Rhine were either dissipated in the dominions of Rome before the fall of

Ancient
Germans
dissipated.

the empire, or afterwards lost in the successive inundations of the Sarmatic Scandinavians, who passed over their country, in their progress into the provinces of the southern Europe. During the first century, the country of the Celto-Germans between the Rhine and Elb, was a scene of public misery and misfortune. Ravaged by Roman armies, under princes of the imperial family, subjected at the same time to all the destructive consequences of domestic discord and civil war, the interamnian Germany lost a great part of its inhabitants, either by death or desertion. The animosities between Arminius and Segestes, the invasion of a disciplined army of eighty thousand men, the calamities of an unsuccessful war with the Hermanduri*, ruined the once powerful nation of the Catti or Suevi, to whom the gods themselves were scarce reckoned equal in fight†. Pressed by these accumulated misfortunes, a part of that warlike people joined their friends, the Batavi, in the islands formed by the mouths of the Rhine; whilst perhaps others, committing themselves to the ocean, joined a colony of their nation long settled in the north-east point of Caledonia, and sent down to

* Eadem æstate inter Hermanduros Cattosque certatum magno prælio. Tacit. Annal. xiii.

† Sese unis Suevis (Cattis) concedere; quibus nec dii quidem immortales pares esse possint. Cæsar, lib. iv.

the present times, their name, with their blood, in a very numerous tribe *.

The Sarmatæ settled on the shores of the Baltic, advanced gradually into the deserted dominions of the Catti, and even of the Sicambri, whose whole nation was transplanted by Tiberius into Gaul, and became, in some measure, the sole inhabitants of Germany, even before the decline of the Roman power. The Germans, with whom the emperors of Rome contended on their frontiers, in the third and fourth ages, were, by no means, the same people whose manners Tacitus so elegantly describes. The language, the form of government, the peculiar ferocity which they carried into the South, agree in nothing with the Celtæ; except where they necessarily approach to one another, in the extreme barbarism common to both.

The Sarmatæ ancestors of the Germans.

The Goths and Vandals, who, under various national names, extended their conquests to Spain, Italy, and Africa, were, in some measure, lost in the countries which they subdued. They marked the governments which they established in their new dominions, with

Lost in the nations

* The Clan-Catti, from whom the county of Cat-ness, in the Gaëlic CATTÀ, derives its name. They are subdivided into many tribes; such as the Macphersons, Mackintoshes, Sutherlands, &c. This subject will be resumed.

the fierce freedom, which they enjoyed in the forests of the north ; but they themselves soon felt that decline, which subjected the Romans to their arms. They languished in the luxury which their valour had procured: they were outnumbered by their subjects, to such a degree, that they were not even able to send down their language to posterity, as a mark of their former greatness. Without historians to record their actions, before their migration, we can only judge of their fame by the reputation of the great people, who fell under their force and invasion.

whom they
subdued.

When the Goths and Vandals evacuated their seats in Germany, nations descended from the same stock, issuing from Scandinavia, trod on their heels, as they moved into the provinces of the Roman empire. This latter migration of the Sarmatæ of the North gave being to the present Germans. The Franks, who confined their expeditions to Gaul, were the only northern adventurers on the continent, who were ever able to send down their Sarmatic name to modern times. The Saxons in Britain are the most unmixed of the posterity of the Sarmatæ, who first settled on the southern shore of the Baltic. The English owe their excellent constitution of government, their manly and comprehensive language, and the peculiarity of their manners, to that very ferocity, which left their ancestors without subjects, in the country which their arms subdued.

The

The Slavi.

When fate had decreed the fall of the Romans, she Reflections. seemed to create barbarians for the single purpose of executing her favourite design. Nations appeared suddenly on the frontiers of the empire, unheard of by others, and even unknown to themselves. The memory of their former transactions was lost in their own ignorance, and the name of their original seats was, as it were, forgot in the length of their march. They seemed to move forward, under an impression of the inconveniencies which they had left at home, more than from the hopes of success abroad; having philosophy enough to prefer the uncertainty of future evils to present misery.

The light which the writers of Greece and Rome Origin of the Slavi. threw over the regions of the North, gleamed only faintly on the nations beyond the Vistula and the eastern shores of the Gulph of Bothnia. The manners of the Celtic Germans, from their vicinity to the empire, were known and accurately described; and the Sarmatæ of Scandinavia and the southern coast of the Baltic, brought with their arms, intimations of their indigenous opinions and peculiar language into the South, even before the fall

fall of the Romans. The eastern Sarmatæ, who, under the general name of Slavi, possess all the regions between the Euxine and the Frozen Ocean, were known, on their frontiers to the West, by the name of Venedi; a people remarkable only for their superior barbarism, with respect to the Celtæ and Scandinavian Sarmatæ *.

Their mi-
grations

The obscurity which covered the Slavi at home, was afterwards dispelled by their foreign expeditions. When the Goths evacuated their seats, to remove into better regions, the Slavi became their successors in their deserted abodes, upon the Vistula and Bothnic Gulphs. Extending themselves to the South, they crossed the Danube, and under the name of Avari, the designation of one of their tribes, they advanced even as far as Peloponnesus in the fifth age; and under that of Bulgarians, they continued their irruptions into the South till the end of the eighth. Pursuing and flying from one another, in successive migrations, they filled the western Russia, Poland, and the regions near the mouths of the Danube, with their colonies; and being, at length,

* *Habitatur ad Vistulam fluvium a Sarmatis Venedis. Plin. lib. iv.*

Winidarum natio populosa confedit, quorum nomina licet nunc per varias familias et loca mutarentur, principaliter Sclavini nominantur. Jornandes de rebus Gothicis.

tinged with a part of that civilization, which, in a later period, spread over Europe, they have started up into several powerful nations. Some of them extended themselves as far as Dalmatia and Illyricum, and, at this moment, speak the language of their ancestors on the Adriatic*.

The course of migration, among the Barbarians of ancient Europe, in so far as it can be traced through antiquity, has been uniformly from the North and East to the South and West. The arts of civil life, which enabled the Greeks and Romans to extend their conquests, made them objects of depredation, when their spirit declined. Barbarians, shivering in the bleak winds of the polar regions, turned naturally their thoughts to countries warmed with a nearer sun. Restrained for some time by the discipline of the Romans, they hovered like wolves round the fold; but they soon seized the golden spoil, when the dragon closed his eyes in sleep. With an avidity natural to their ferocious character, they ruined what they meant to enjoy, and became themselves, in some measure, the victims of the desolation which they spread around.

* *Slavorum populi multi sunt, habitantes in litore Baltici maris. — litus australe Slavorum incolunt nationes, quorum ab oriente primum sunt Ruzi, deinde Poloni, &c. Helmold. lib. i.*

Succeed the
Goths and
Vandals.

When the fence, with which the Roman arms had surrounded the south of Europe, was once broken down the nearest tribes, by pouring in a deluge into the empire, left their ancient seats to the Barbarians in their rear. Nation trod on the heel of nation, one migration succeeded another ; and the first invaders were frequently swallowed up by a new fleece of adventurers from behind. When the Goths and Vandals, quitting their native seats on the Vistula and Baltic, had advanced, in successive swarms, into Rhetia, Gaul, Italy, and Spain, the Slavi took possession of their habitations. Growing numerous in Russia and Poland, they, in their turn, extended themselves to the south-west ; and if we regard their numbers and extent of dominion, they form, at this day, one third of the weight in the scale of Europe. Their language, as well as manners, gives their origin to the Tartars of the north-east of Asia. They agreed in nothing with the Celtæ or Sarmatic Scandinavians, in their aboriginal character ; but they yielded to neither in that personal intrepidity or courage, which was the greatest, if not the only virtue of the Barbarians of the North.

Origin

Origin of the European Nations.

The succinct account given of the state of ancient Europe, lays open the secret springs, from which its modern inhabitants derive their blood. The polished nations, who now excel antiquity itself in arts, and vie with it in arms, owe their origin to rude Barbarians, whose want of the means of transmitting their history to posterity, has perhaps contributed to their fame. The Celtæ, the Sarmatæ, and Slavi, jumbled together by migration, by conquest, and accidents of various kinds, formed that great mass, which has started up, in the course of ages, into those powerful and illustrious states, which figure, at this day, in Europe.

The Celtæ,
Sarmatæ,
and Slavi,

Though scarce any one people, from the pillars of Hercules to the Tanais, are free from a mixture of the three great original nations, whom we have already described, there are particular divisions, in that vast extent of country, where the blood of each peculiarly prevails. The Celtæ, whom their connection with the Romans abandoned to conquest, in Gaul, Spain, Italy, and its isles, are the ancestors of the majority of the present inhabitants of those extensive countries. The Sarmatic Vandals, who, under a great variety of national names,

ancestors of
the Euro-
pean na-
tions.

names, succeeded the Romans in the dominion of the South and West, bore no proportion to the conquered. They introduced, among their new subjects, their own form of government, their own regulations, the haughty ferocity of their character and manners, that want of neatness *, which all the improvements of civilized times have not hitherto been able to remove: but the language of the vassals, a certain evidence of their superiority in point of numbers, prevailed, at last, over that of their lords.

Their respective dominions,

In Germany, from the source of the Elb to the Baltic, from the Vistula to the ocean; in England, in a great part of Scotland, the old Scandinavians, with little mixture, prevail. In the kingdoms of Norway and Sweden the blood of the ancient Sarmatæ is tinged with that of the Slavi, who advanced into the vacant seats of those tribes, who successively, for many ages, discharged themselves into the regions of the South, from both the shores of the Baltic. To the east of the Vistula, from the Euxine to the Frozen Ocean, dwell the main body of the Slavi; though some tribes of that great nation remain in their ancient conquests, on the shores of the Ægean and the Adriatic.

* *Sordes Sarmatarum.* Tacit. Germ. xlvii.

Language, next to authentic records, is the best evidence of the extract of a people. The modern Europeans, deriving their blood from three very different nations, still preserve among them the three original tongues of their remotest ancestors. These are the Celtic, the Teutonic, and Slavonic, all radically different from one another. Wherever any of these three languages is spoken with most purity, there the blood of the great nation, from whom it takes its name, most prevails.

O R I G I N

O R I G I N
OF THE
ANCIENT BRITISH NATIONS.

Preliminary Reflections.

General

A Traveller of ordinary curiosity, landing at the mouth of the Nile, might perhaps content himself with viewing the fine effect which that noble river has on the appearance of the Lower Egypt. One more inquisitive might chuse to trace the stream to where it falls from the desert into the plains of Thebes; but he, indeed, must be uncommonly curious, who would wander in search of its source to the mountains of the moon, beyond the equinoctial line. The novelty of the romantic scenes on the way, might recompence him for the fatigue of the journey; but mankind would scarce forget the folly of the undertaking, in the pleasure of hearing the detail of his discoveries.

Observations.

A writer, who penetrates into antiquity, to investigate the springs from which his nation has issued, may, in like

like manner, have his amusement for his labour. Partial to themselves, the bulk of the people regard only those periods of their history, which descend nearest to their own times. Satisfied with the renown of later transactions, they are as indifferent concerning their origin and remote annals, as they who profit by the inundations of the Nile, are about the distant fountain from which it takes its rise. The traveller, to continue the comparison, has, in some respects, the advantage of the writer; for the sandy deserts of Africa present a less uncomfortable prospect to the eye, than the sterile regions of national antiquities. This consideration, tho' it shall not prevent, will contribute to shorten the present inquiry.

Before the arrival of Julius Cæsar, Britain was rather heard of than known. Foreigners had visited its ports in pursuit of commerce; but they extended not their inquiries to the internal state of the country. The information of the Romans accompanied the progress of their arms. New communities rose gradually before them, as they advanced into the heart of the island; till the whole body of its inhabitants came, in some measure, forward to view, when Agricola carried the Roman eagles to the mountains of Caledonia. But to investigate the origin of our ancestors, with some precision, we must return

Britain little known before Julius Cæsar.

into a period of more remote antiquity. It is to little purpose to enquire, whether a race of Barbarians wandered over the face of the British isles, prior to migrations of the Gaël from the continent. Conjecture would be lost in a gloom so distant, and ingenuity itself degenerate into folly.

Affected by
revolutions
on the con-
tinent.

Britain, from its vicinity to the continent, must, in the nature of things, have been affected by the great revolutions which have been, in the preceding sections, briefly described. The circles spreading from commotions in the center, must have vibrated, though perhaps faintly, in the extremities of Europe; and the shock was certainly felt beyond the limits to which conquest and migration actually extended themselves. We may derive a kind of proof of facts in antiquity, from the transactions of times within the limits of history. The Saxons, who poured into Britain in the fifth century, trod only the steps of many more ancient migrations from the lower Germany. The same avidity for better seats than their native fens, which prompted the invasion of the Saxons, must have suggested a similar conduct to their predecessors in the same country; and thus the absolute conquest effected by that warlike nation, was but the counterpart of many revolutions in this island, which antiquity has involved in shades.

When

When the information of the Romans extended, with ^{Peopled from Gaul.} their arms, into Britain, the geographers and historians of that illustrious people, threw some light on the island and its inhabitants. The manners of the rude tribes who possessed it, were so similar to the nations on the opposite shores of Gaul and the lower Germany, that no room is left for doubting, that the former passed from the latter, either by gradual migration, or the abrupt inroads of war. We owe, perhaps, our blood to both. Invasion might have followed the partial emigration of individuals; and the sudden establishments erected by the former, account for the difference of manners and language, which, even to this day, subsists among the posterity of the Celtæ in Britain and its isles.

GAËL, *the first Colony.*Cause of
their trans-
migration

The name of GAËL, still retained by the most ancient and most unmixed inhabitants of the British isles, seems to look for its origin in the first great revolution among the Celtæ, which we have mentioned rather than described. The wild tribes, who, in the remotest antiquity, possessed the vast regions bounded by the Ocean, the Mediterranean, the Rhine, the Alps, and Pyrenean mountains, were the first of the European Scythians, not even, perhaps, excepting the Pelasgi, who formed themselves into distinct communities, and devolved the protection of property, from the arm of the individual, upon the public faith. The arts of civil life, which, when brought to perfection, attach mankind to their native country, encourage, in their commencement, migration and foreign war. Men, in the intermediate state, between hunting and husbandry, have not laid aside their disposition to wander. They chuse rather to derive their food from the toil of foreign enemies, than from the painful industry of the plow and the shuttle at home. Their numbers increasing, by the means of the subsistence which even their slight attention to agriculture has procured, they are enabled to fill the neighbouring countries with emigrants, without altogether depopulating their own.

In a period beyond the commencement of history, the ^{into Britain.} GAËL seem to have extended themselves, either by conquest or gradual migration, into Britain; and to have diffused themselves over all its regions and isles. In the manners, in the language, in the absolute identity of character, which subsisted, at the arrival of the Romans, between the British and continental GAËL, the fact is ascertained beyond the power of reply. The authority of ancient writers corroborates, on this head, arguments, deduced from the situation *, the fertility of the soil †, the mildness of the air and climate ‡, which would have recommended Britain to a migrating nation, in a degree superior to the regions of the West and North, to which, it is well known, the GAËL extended themselves in remote antiquity.

The fact itself is more easily ascertained, than the ^{The Æra} æra in which it ought to be placed. Its antiquity has scarce left room for conjecture. We must look for it, long before the establishment of the Phœceans in the

* Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est. Tacit. Vit. Agric. xi.

† Solum patiens frugum, fœcundum. Tacit. Vit. Agric. xii.

‡ Loca temporatiora quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus. Cæsar, lib. v.

Asperitas frigorum abest. Tacit. ubi supra.

district of Massilia. The Gaël, at the very time that the Greeks sat down on the shores of the Ligustic Sea, were employed in expedition and foreign war. They crossed the Rhine*; they clambered over the Alps† in quest of settlements; they at once penetrated into the Hercynian forest, and ravaged Italy, with their arms, under different commanders of their royal line. But even those enemies, whom Sigovefus attacked, were the posterity of his countrymen‡, who, in a much more remote period, had settled beyond the Alps, and diffused themselves over all the regions of Italy and its isles.

more diffi-
cult to as-
certain

The Umbri, the most ancient inhabitants of Italy §, derived their blood from the GAËL ||. Whether the ancestors of the old Italians crossed the Alps with their

* Titus Livius, lib. v.

† Ibid.

‡ Bocchus absolvit Gallorum veterum propaginem Umbros esse. Solin. viii.

Umbri prima veterum Gallorum proles. August. in Sempron.

Umbros veterum Gallorum propaginem esse Marcus Antonius refert. Servius in Æneid. xii.

§ Umbrorum gens antiquissima Italiæ existimatur. Plin. lib. iii.

Umbri antiquissimus Italiæ populus. Flor. lib. i.

|| Umbri prima veterum Gallorum proles. August. in Sempron.

wives

wives and children, or moved into the fine country, which they raised afterwards to such a pitch of glory with their arms, through the valley of the Tyrol, is a circumstance, as unimportant in itself, as it is impossible to be known. Illyricum * and the Alpine regions were equally peopled by the GAËL; who had pervaded Europe, before any part of its history rose from darkness. We may naturally suppose, that the Gaël, who possessed the continental shore of the channel, would have found as little difficulty in crossing that narrow sea, as their countrymen, either at the foot of the Alps or in Illyricum, in passing into Italy, which they occupied, with their tribes, long before colonies from Greece settled on the shores of Magna Græcia. We may therefore conclude, that the ancestors of the GAËL of the British isles came from the continent, as early, at least, as their countrymen seized upon Italy, under the name of Umbri †.

Time flies imperceptibly over uncultivated ages, and carries no measure of itself on its course. The unimproved state, in which the Gaël of the continent appeared when the first ray of history rose, might have

than the fact.

* Strabo, lib. vii.

† Plin. lib. iii. Flor. lib. i.

come down through a long series of years. The fact of their being the ancestors of the first inhabitants of Britain is in itself established; and it is of small importance in what æra it ought to be placed. Gaul was, with regard to us, the mother of nations. We see the swarm wandering from that hive; but if it came originally from some other country, the event is hidden in such darkness, that it concerns us as little, as if it never existed. All certainty is lost in doubt; and conjecture itself has scarce a field left for erecting upon it its visionary fabrics.

CIMBRI, *the second Colony.*

The æra of the transmigration of the Celtic Ger-
mans into Britain, under the name of Cimbri, is much
less liable to uncertainty, than that of the Gaël. The
nations of Greece felt the shock, which filled Britain
with a new colony, long after their writers began to re-
cord events with precision. The inundation of Barba-
rians, who, about half a century after the death of
Alexander, poured in from Mount Hæmus, upon Thrace,
Macedonia, the Grecian islands, and the Lesser Asia,
were the German posterity of the Gaël; who, passing
from their own country into Illyricum, either destroyed
its nations*, or carried them along on the stream of
invasion.

The æra of
the transmi-
gration

The writers of antiquity indiscriminately call the fierce
invaders of Greece †, and the wild tribes who crossed
the Hellespont, and settled in the Lesser Asia, by the

of the Cima-
bri,

* Ad Ionicum mare conversi, gentem Illyriorum et quicquid gentium
ad Macedonas usque habitat, imo ipsos Macedonas oppressere. Paus.
Attic. iv.

† Κελτοίς, τοίς λεγόμενοις Κίμβροις ἐπὶ Δελφοῖς συστρατευσάν. Ap-
pian. in Illyr.

name of Cimbri* and Gaël. The first was the peculiar name of the German Celtæ†, the latter the general appellation which they derived from their ancestors in Gaul. This want of precision has been a source of error to modern writers; and it even seems to have misled some of the ancients. When they meet with the name of Galli, they apply it to the inhabitants of the country bounded by the Rhine, the Alps, and the ocean; and seem to forget, that the swarms which emigrated, beyond history, from Gaul, left their posterity in the vast regions of Germany and Illyricum.

ascertained
by the au-
thority

The invasion which Brennus led to Greece and its isles, the armies with which Belgius cut off the Macedonians, with their king, were Celtic Germans from the shores of the Ocean‡. Marching eastward from their native country, they crossed the Danube, near its

* Ἐν τοῖς παλαιαῖς χρόνις τοὺς Ἀσίαν (minorem) ἀπ᾿ ἅσαν καταδραμοντάς, ὀνομαζομένοὺς δὲ Κιμεριοῦς. Diod. Sic.

Τοὺς μὲν νυν ὑφ' Ἑλλενῶν καλεσμένους Κομαρεῖς λεγόμενους Flav. Joseph. i.

† Κίμβρης ἐπονομάζουσι τὰς ληΐας. Plutarch. in Mario.

Ληστῆς οὐκ ὄντες καὶ πλανήτες οἱ Κίμβροι. Strabo, lib. vii.

‡ Barbari ab Oceano venerant. Pausan. Phoc. xx.

source,

source, and having subdued the Pannonians *, and made war, for several years, with the wild nations of Illyricum and Thrace; they, at length, moved forward to the confines of Greece, carrying destruction on the points of their swords †. Brennus perished at Delos; Comontorius, his fellow commander in the expedition, led his victorious arms into Thrace, and settled a part of the Lesser Asia with his Celto-Germanic tribes.

Ancient writers of the greatest authority, make the Cimbri the principals in that expedition, which broke the power of the Macedonians, deluged Greece and its isles with invasion ‡, and filled Thrace and the Lesser Asia with colonies. They knew the Cimbri to be the posterity of the Gaël, who, in remote antiquity, settled between the Rhine and the Baltic; and they indiscriminately call them by their aboriginal name of Gaël, or that of Cimbri, which they acquired

of the ancients;

* Domitis Pannoniis. hortante deinde successu Græciam omnia ferro proterentes petivere. Justin. lib. xxiv.

† Per strages barbarorum. Justin. lib. xxiv.

‡ Alterum est ex Appiani fide: nam ubi reliqui scriptores Gallos fuisse consentiunt, qui, Brenno duce, Delphos Græciæ diripuerunt, Appianus in Illyricis Cimbros vocatos fuisse, his verbis, Κελτοῖς, τοῖς λεγομένοις Κιμβροῖς ἐπὶ Δελφοῖς συστρατεῦσαι.

from their peculiar mode of life. The neighbours of the northern Scythia, says Diodorus, are the most unpolished of the posterity of the Gaël. That fierce and valiant race of men ravaged of old the Lesser Asia, under the name of Cimmerians; and they afterwards received the appellation of CIMBRI, as they were much addicted to robbery and depredation*. It was they who took Rome, who pillaged the temple of Delos, who imposed a tribute on a great part of Europe, and on not a small portion of Asia; and who settled themselves in the lands of the vanquished†.

and various

Reason strengthens, with irrefragable arguments, the positive assertion of the intelligent writer. The German Celtæ lay nearer to Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, than their mother nation in Gaul; they were less attached, by civilization, to fixed abodes, than the inhabitants of the fertile regions, between the Alps and the ocean: and they marked out, in this great invasion, the path which their posterity, or successors in Germany, in times better known, pursued. Fierce and untractable in their disposition, bred in the wildest enthusiasm

* Diod. Sic. lib. v.

† Ibid.

of arms, as impatient of injuries themselves, as they were careless of being unjust to others, they would never have permitted the Gaël to pass over their tribes, in their migration toward the East. Besides, the invaders of Greece came from the shores of the Ocean *, from the coast of Germany, between the Rhine and the Baltic; unless we are to suppose, contrary to all probability, that the tribes who bordered on the bay of Biscay passed over the vast country of Gaul; crossed the Rhine; forced their way, through the fierce nations and inhospitable regions, from that river to the Danube; cut off the Pannonians, and rushed down, like a foaming deluge, on Greece and all its isles, from the vast ridge of mountains which stretch themselves from the Danube to the Adriatic.

The testimony of the ancients, supported by reason, ^{argumente} leaves no room to doubt, that the German Celtæ, under the name of Cimbri, invaded the East, in the third century before the commencement of our present æra. The name of Belgius, by which one of their great commanders was distinguished, is an additional proof, that the Barbarians who cut off Ptolemy Ceraunus, and sub-

* Barbari ab Oceano venerant. Paus. Phoc. lib. xx.

duced Macedonia *, were the natives of the shores of the German Ocean. Whilst a part of the Cimbri pushed their conquests to the South and East, others directed their migration to the regions of the West. We find traces of them in the extremities of Europe †. They were, in some measure, the ancestors of the Lusitanians ‡; and it was they, perhaps, who rose into a mixed nation, with the Aborigines of the mountains of Gallicia.

deduced

The vicinity of Britain to the continent of Europe, subjected the former to some of the effects of the great revolutions which happened in the latter. It was when the German Celtæ appeared in arms on the frontiers of Greece, that some of their countrymen drove the Gaël from the Belgic division of ancient Gaul. Cæsar observes, that the Belgæ were the posterity of German emigrants, who settled, in ancient times, to the south

* Belgicus in Macedoniam agmen duxit. Is cum Ptolemæo, qui tunc Macedonia regnum obtinebat, dimicavit ipse in eo prælio Ptolemæus cecidit, et Macedonum non parva facta est clades. Paus. Phoc. lib. xix. This event seems to have happened in the first year of the 125th Olympiad, or 280 years before our present æra.

† Pyrenæus Germanorum transitus non inhibuit. Seneca ad Helviam.

‡ Omnium Cimbrorum fortissimi sunt Lusitani. Diod. Sic. lib. v.

of the Rhine, on account of the fertility of the soil *. Descrying Britain, from their new settlements, they passed the narrow channel which divides it from the continent ; and the Gaël, who had diffused themselves over all the island, contracted their limits toward the South. The name of the new invaders still remains, with their blood, in the Cimbri of Wales.

On a subject of such high antiquity, arguments deduced from reason must frequently supply the place of positive proofs. The disagreement in point of language and manners, between the Welsh and the posterity of the Gaël in Britain and Ireland, argues, with invincible force, that the ancestors of both nations came, at very different periods, from the continent. The great line of the Celtic character passes through both ; but still there is a difference subsisting between them, in the idiom of their respective tongues, in their customs, and in their opinions and prejudices, which no time, no separation of government, could have effectuated, without some mixture of external blood. The Gaël of the mountains of Caledonia, were, at no period of ancient time, under the same government with the old Irish ; the Saxons on the Firth of Murray, and the inhabitants

* Reperiebat Cæsar Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis Rhenum antiquitus transductos, propter loci fertilitatem ibi confedisse, Gallosque qui ea loca incolerent, expulisse. Cæsar, lib. ii.

of Middlesex, were, from all antiquity, subject to separate princes; yet the language of Connaught is understood in the northern Britain, and the native of the Scottish shore of the German Ocean speaks the same tongue with the native of London.—A second great migration must certainly have happened, beyond the limits of our first information concerning Britain, and we can place it in no period of antiquity, with such probability, as in that which has been just assigned.

Modern
writers con-
futed.

Some modern writers, with unauthorised dogmatism, affirm, that the invasion of Greece and Asia by the Celtic Germans, about half a century after the death of Alexander, is not founded in fact. They ascribe to the Gauls of the Alpin regions, exploits which belonged to the neighbours of the German Ocean. To the positive proofs already produced, another testimony of great force may be joined: St. Jerom affirms, that the language of the Gallo-Græci of the Lesser Asia differed not much from the tongue of the Treveri*, a nation of German extract†. This circumstance argues, beyond

* Galatas, excepto sermone Græco, quo omnis oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem penè habere, quam Treveros. Hieron. in Proëmio Comment. in Epist. ad Galatas.

† Quæ nationes, è Germaniâ in Gallias commigraverant expeditiam TREVERI et Nervii circa affeclationem Germanicæ originis ultro ambitiosi sunt. Tacit. Germ.

the power of reply, that the inundation of Barbarians which overwhelmed Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, its isles, and the Lesser Asia, in the latter end of the one hundred and twenty-fourth olympiad, issued from the regions comprehended between the Rhine, the Danube, the Baltic, and the Ocean. The Celtæ beyond the Rhine, in a collective sense, went under the name of Cimbri, ever after the great invasion, which the conduct of Marius averted from Rome; and it ought to be remarked, that all the writers who use that appellation, to distinguish the Germans from their mother-nation of Gaul, flourished after that period.

BELGÆ,

BELGÆ, *the third Colony.*

Æra of the
migration of
the Belgæ

The Celtic Germans who poured in upon Greece, under the name of Cimbri, in the last year of the one hundred and twenty-fourth Olympiad, left their native country, more from a desire of acquiring new settlements than plunder. Their invasion was not an abrupt inroad, but, in some measure, a general migration. Their march from the German Ocean * to the Danube and the mountains of Hæmus, comprehended several years †. The wild tribes through which the deluge slowly moved, threw obstacles in its way, which, when they raised its turbulence, retarded its progress; and the dreadful course of the stream was marked with the ruin of nations ‡.

from Ger-
many to
Gaul.

The current which passed through Illyricum to the East, was not, however, the sole outlet of that tumultuous commotion, which a general spirit of emigration had raised among the Celtic Germans. In the preceding

* Barbari ab OCEANO venerant. Paus. Phoc. lib. xx.

† Domitis Pannoniis, per multos annos cum finitimis varia bella gesserunt. Justin. lib. xxiv.

‡ Per strages Barbarorum. Justin. lib. xxiv.

section,

section it has been proved, from the language of both nations, that the Gaël of the Lesser Asia and the Belgæ must have derived their origin from the same German stock; and there is, therefore, little absurdity in supposing, that the settlement of the Germans in Gaul happened in the same period which overwhelmed with their countrymen Macedonia, Thrace, the Lesser Asia, and even Greece and its isles. When the Celto-Germans expelled their mother-nation the Gaël, from one third of their ancient dominions, a part of them, crossing the British channel, became the ancestors of the Cimbri of Wales. Those who remained in the new acquisitions in Gaul, rose in process of time into a variety of petty states, under the general name of BELGÆ, who derived a considerable degree of civilization from their vicinity to the GAËL, then in some measure polished by the Phoceans of Massilia, as well as by their own domestic improvements*.

The Belgæ, some time after the great migration of ^{and from the} their countrymen into this island, came, in pursuit of ^{Belgic Gaul} commerce, into some of its ports†. Almost every little

* Reperiebat Cæsar Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis Rhenum antiquit̃s transductos, propter loci fertilitatem ibi confedisse; Gallosque qui ea loca incoherent, expulisse. Cæsar, lib. ii.

† Maritima pars ab iis, qui ex Belgis transierant. Cæsar, lib. v.

state in Belgica established by degrees a settlement at the mouths of some rivers opposite to their own shores. Encreased by a continual flow of emigrants from their original country, they expelled the Cimbric Britons from the adjacent districts, and gradually formed themselves into small communities, each of which bore the name of the state, on the continent, from which they derived their blood *.

into Britain.

The æra of the first settlement of the Belgæ on the coast of the southern Britain, it is impossible to ascertain with precision. A century must have passed between the transmigration of the Cimbri into our island, and that civilization among the Belgæ, which enabled that nation to occupy its ports with their commerce. When they became formidable, by the growth of their settlements, jealousy might probably have armed the Cimbric Britons against them. They would, upon such an emergency, have recourse to the aid of their mother-nation ; and it was to an event of this kind, that Divitiacus, king of the Sueffiones, owed, perhaps, the absolute authority which he exercised over the Belgæ of Britain, scarce half a century before the arrival of Cæsar.

* Omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum appellantur, quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt. Cæsar, lib. v.

When the Romans carried their arms into Britain, the whole island was evidently possessed by three nations, sprung originally, though at very different periods, from the GAËL of the continent. The posterity of the Caledonians bring ample proofs, in their manners and language, from antiquity, that the Cimbri of Wales swarmed not directly from the same hive with them on the continent. The Belgæ are expressly mentioned by the ancients, as having come from Gaul in a much later period than the other Britons: and all these circumstances combined, amount to a kind of demonstration, that the system contained in these sections is supported by all the evidence which a matter of such antiquity can receive.

To settle the lines which divided the three nations from one another, is less difficult than unimportant. The topographical history of ancient Britain has already been minutely canvassed and established, by men of the first accuracy and learning. On their confines, as is common in all countries, the British nations were certainly mixed. We hear not of solitudes made by the sword in our island, as the boundaries of tribes; and it is not sufficiently marked, especially in its southern division, with great and striking features, to form natural barriers against incursion and invasion. The Severn and the

Humber might have been the most distinguished lines, near the confines of the Cimbri and Belgæ; and beyond the Scottish firths, the posterity of the GAËL who first transmigrated into Britain, remained most certainly unmixed.

Observations on the Three British Nations.

The three great British nations, whose origin we have endeavoured to investigate, must have differed considerably from one another in language, manners, and character. Though descended from the same source, their separation into different channels was very remote. The Gaël who possessed the northern Britain, by the name of Caledonians, having passed from the continent before the arts of civil life had made any considerable progress among them, retained the pure but unimproved language of their ancestors, together with their rude simplicity of manners.

The British Cimbri derived their origin from the Galie colonies who, in remote antiquity, had settled beyond the Rhine. These, with a mixture of the Sarmatæ, returned from the countries beyond the Rhine, with more than the barbarism of their ancestors, at their first migration from Gaul, into the regions of the South. During their separation from their mother nation, their language and manners must have suffered such a considerable change, that it is extremely doubtful whether their dialect of the Celtic and that of the old British Gaël were, at the arrival of the former in this island, reciprocally

The Gaël,
Cimbri, and
Belgæ,

though de-
scended from
the Celtic
stock,

reciprocally understood by both nations.—The third colony had nothing absolutely common, except in their distant origin with the Gaël and Cimbri. Their manners were more humanized; their tongue, though perhaps corrupted, was more copious. They had left the continent at a period of advanced civilization. Their character changed with the progress of the arts of civil life; and new inventions had introduced new words and new expressions into their language.

spoke three
different
dialects.

But though the three nations who possessed the British isles at the arrival of the Romans spoke three distinct dialects, and differed materially from one another in the formation of their phrases, and construction of their sentences, the most of the radical words used by all were certainly the same. The names of places in the Roman Britain, however much disguised they may have been by the orthography of the writers of the empire, may be, with great facility, traced to their original meaning in the language spoken to this day by the posterity of the Gael in the northern Britain*.

To

* Cantium; *Kent*; *Canti*, end of the island.

Trinobantes, *Trion-oban*, marshy district; the inhabitants of Middlesex and Essex.

Durotrigæ, *Dur-treig*, the sea-tribe; the inhabitants of the coast of Dorsetshire, in allusion to their situation.

Dobuni

To descend into a minute detail of the various petty tribes into which the three British nations were subdivided, would neither furnish instruction nor amusement. The Cimbri and Belgæ, falling under the power of the Romans soon after they were mentioned by historians, were lost in the general name of Britons; and the internal state of the Gaël of North Britain and Ireland is covered with that impenetrable cloud which invariably involves illiterate nations who lie beyond the information of foreign writers. Observations.

Dobuni, *Dobb-buini*; living on the bank of the river: they who of old possessed the county of Gloucester, alluding to their situation on the banks of the Severn.

Belerium, *Bel-eir*; Western-rock: Cape Cornwall.

Dimetæ, *Di-moi-atta*; inhabitants of the southern plain: The tribe of Cimbri who possessed the counties of Caermarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan.

Ordovices, *Ord-tuavich*; northern mountaineers: The inhabitants of North Wales.

Ancient Names of Britain.

Observations.

The origin of the people being briefly investigated, it may not be improper to inquire into the name of the country. Etymology is a science frequently full of deception, and always unentertaining and dry. But as the Author of the introduction returns back into antiquity with some advantages which men of greater abilities have not possessed, he hopes to be, in some measure, satisfactory on this subject.

The etymon of Albion

Alba or Albin, the name by which the ancient Scots, in their native language, have, from all antiquity, distinguished their own division of Britain, seems to be the fountain from which the Greeks deduced their Albion. It was natural for the Gaël, who transmigrated from the low plains of Belgium, to call the more elevated land of Britain by a name expressive of the face of the country. ALB or ALP, in the Celtic, signifies High, and IN, invariably, a country.—The name of Albion, being imposed upon the island by the Gaël, the first colony, was known before the appellation which the Romans latinized into Britannia.

and of

The Cimbri, the second Celtic colony who passed into Britain, having expelled their mother-nation from Belgica,

Belgica, descried Albion from the coast, and invaded that island. Settling in its southern division, they gave it a new name expressive of the same idea which first suggested the appellation of Albion to the Gaël. Comparing the elevated coast of Britain to the fenny plains of the lower Germany, they called it BRAIT-AN, a word compounded of BRAIT high, and AN or IN a country *.

This new name never extended itself to the Gaël of Britain. North Britain; and the posterity of the Cimbri have lost it in the progress of time. The Scottish and Irish Gaël have brought down the name of Alba or Albin to the present age; the Welsh use no general appellation. The æra of its imposition ought to be fixed as far back as the arrival of the Cimbri in the island. The Phœnicians of Gades and the Massilian Phœceans, who traded to the ports of Britain, learned the name of the natives, and communicated it to the writers of Greece and Rome.

* La Bretagne peut aussi avoir tiré son nom de sa grande étendue. *Brayd* ou *Brait* signifie vaste, le plus grand. *An Isle Bretan*, la plus grande Isle. *Memoires sur la Langue Celtique*, tom. i. But as it is extremely doubtful whether Britain was known to be an island at the arrival of the Cimbri, we must take *Brait* in its original sense, signifying *High*, as in *Braid-Albin*, *High-Albany*, the most elevated district in North Britain.

THE CALEDONIANS.

Preliminary Observations.

Origin of
the Caledo-
nians unin-
vestigated

IN proportion as we travel northward, in ancient Britain, the darkness which involves the antiquities of its inhabitants thickens before us. The Cimbri and Belgæ, after they were comprehended within the pale of the Roman dominions, were seen distinctly: the light of history only extended itself partially to the more ancient inhabitants of the island, the Gaël. Though the Gaël were more than equally blended with the Cimbri, as far south as the Tweed and the Solway, at the arrival of the Romans, their proper country lay to the north of the Scottish firths. There they continued unmixed, and their name remained entire. The legions of the empire penetrated, at different times, into Caledonia; but as these expeditions were not attended with absolute conquest, and a consequent settlement of Colonies, the Romans made little enquiry into the origin of Barbarians, who gave so much trouble to their arms.

by the Ro-
mans.

Julius Agricola, who, for the first time, displayed the Roman eagles beyond the firths, was not more successful in the field than he was happy in an historian
to

to transmit his actions with lustre to posterity. But even the distinct and intelligent Tacitus gives but a very imperfect idea of those enemies, by the defeat of whom his father-in-law acquired so much reputation. We learn from him indeed that the Caledonians were the most ancient inhabitants of Britain, that they were brave and numerous, that, though overcome in the field by the discipline of the Roman legions, they were far from being reduced into any subjection which could deserve the name of conquest.

After Agricola was removed from the government of Britain, the writers of the empire for some years lost sight of the Caledonians. The incursions of those Barbarians into the province, forced both Adrian * and Antoninus Pius † to construct walls, at an immense labor and expence, to exclude their ravages. In the reign of Commodus neither walls nor the military abilities and conduct of Ulpus Marcellus ‡ could prevent them from laying

* Murum per octoginta millia passuum primus duxit qui Barbaros (Caledonios) Romanosque divideret. Spartian. in Hadriano, lib. xi.

† Britannos per Lollium Urbicum legatum vicit, alio muro cespicio submotis Barbaris ducto. Jul. Capitolin. in Antonino, lib. v.

‡ Μέγιστος δὲ ὁ Βρεττανικὸς. Τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ νησῷ ἔθνων ὑπερβεβηκότων τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ πολλὰ κακουργούντων, στρατηγὸν τὲ τινα μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὓς εἶχε καλακοψάντων, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Κόμμοδος, Μάρκελλον Ὀυλπίον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν. Dio. Cass. lib. lxxii.

waste the northern division of the Roman Britain, till Severus, about the beginning of the third century, carried the war into their country with a numerous army: This is the sum of what the Romans have related concerning the Caledonians for near two centuries after they were first mentioned: To their real origin and internal history, the writers of Rome were equally strangers.

peculiarly
obscure.

This defect in foreign writers, with regard to the ancient inhabitants of North Britain, is not supplied by any authentic monuments of their own. The Caledonians were not more destitute of the means of preserving their history in the intermediate century between Agricola and Severus, than their posterity were for a considerable time after the Romans had relinquished the dominion of Britain. The climate and soil of Caledonia were far from being favourable to internal civilization; and a ferocity of manners, arising from an uninterrupted series of hostilities, effectually prevented the introduction of the arts of civil life from abroad.

A reflection.

But when the Scots look back with regret upon that want of letters which has involved in obscurity and fable the origin and history of their ancestors, they ought to consider that it was, perhaps, from this circumstance arose that national independence which they transmitted

transmitted to their posterity. Had the Romans established themselves in Caledonia, we might indeed have known more of the ancient inhabitants of that country; but it is much to be doubted whether the Scots of this age should have been more concerned in their history, than the English of Middlesex and Essex are in the transactions of the Trinobantes, who possessed those counties in the time of Julius Cæsar. The Romans, it is true, introduced the arts of civil life into the countries which they subdued; but with those arts came in slavery, and a consequent imbecillity of mind, which, in the end, abandoned the vassals, as well as their lords, to conquest, and even to extirpation.

The first domestic writers of the history of North Britain were too ignorant, as well as too modern, to form any probable system concerning the origin of their nation. Destitute of records at home, they found themselves obliged to fill up the void in their antiquities with tales which had been growing in Ireland, for some ages before, on the hands of a succession of ignorant Bards and Fileas. After the study of critical learning was prosecuted with success among other nations, what part of it extended to Scotland was only employed to remove some of the absurdities of the old fables, and not levelled in a manly manner against the whole of that

Scots destitute of ancient domestic writers.

that fabric of fiction which had so long dishonoured the antiquities of that country.

Inaccuracy
of their mo-
dern histo-
rians.

The ingenious father Innes was the first of the Scots who had the courage to attack that puerile system of their origin, which his countrymen had for many ages adopted. He wrested the sceptre of Scotland from the first Fergus, and thirty-nine of the ideal successors of that pretended monarch, and passing over into Ireland, discomfited that motley army of Bards, Fileas, and Senachies, which had been so long fortifying themselves in rhimes, traditions, and fabulous records. But Innes was more successful in destroying the indigested accounts of others, than in establishing a more rational system of his own. Setting out upon wrong principles, and being an utter stranger to the Gaëlic language, he fell into unavoidable mistakes; and endeavoured to obtrude upon the world opinions, concerning the origin of the Scots, no less improbable than those tales which he had exploded with so much success. Though Scotland has of late years produced men distinguished for their talent in historical disquisition, none of them has thought proper to search for the genuine origin and history of his ancestors, among those fables which obscure the antiquities of the nation. Possessed of parts, perhaps, too valuable to be employed in investigations of that kind, they

they hastened to important periods of history, where their abilities might with lustre be displayed.

A learned Clergyman *, in one of the Scottish isles, reduced lately into form and precision the antiquities which Innes had left in confusion and disorder. Had the ingenious writer extended his remarks as far as he might have been enabled to do by his erudition and great knowlege of all the branches of the Celtic language, there should, perhaps, be very little occasion for this Essay. His observations are so judicious, and his arguments so conclusive, on several points of this subject, that to give him the merit of being the best antiquary that has treated of the origin of the Scots, is too small a tribute to his memory.

Dr. Mac-
pherfon
commended;

Origin of the Caledonians.

Though the opinion of Cornelius Tacitus, concerning the Germanic extract of the Caledonians †, is not just, in a general sense, it has, if partially taken, some probable foundation in fact. The misfortunes which drove

The opi-
nion of Ta-
citus con-
cerning the
extract.

* Dr. John Macpherfon, Minister of Slate in the Isle of Sky.

† Rutilæ Caledoniæ habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem asseverant. Agric. lib. xi.

a part of the Catti into the islands at the mouths of the Rhine, might have induced others of the same warlike nation to commit themselves to the German Ocean, and to search for new habitations on the opposite shore of Caledonia. Driven by the winds, or conducted by accident, to the north-east point of the modern Scotland, they settled, according to all appearance, in the county of Catness, which still bears their name; and transmitted their blood, in a great variety of tribes, to the present times.

of the Caledonians
just in part.

The Catini of Ptolemy are placed, by the celebrated Camden, in the county of Catness; and the traditions of their posterity refer them to a German origin. The name of CLAN-CATTI, or CATINICH, which they still bear, speaks with invincible force in favour of this system. The Catti, under the chief of their blood, remained from their first transmigration, for many ages, in the north-east point of Caledonia; and formed a part of the Pictish government, till it was broken by the Scots, and transferred to the second Keneth. Though shaken by the violent concussion which subjected Pictavia to the dominion of the western Caledonians, they retained, but with diminished power, their ancient seats. About twenty years after the union of the two Caledonian kingdoms, Harold Harfager, king of Norway, pursuing his enemies,

enemies, who had taken refuge in the Scottish isles, reduced the Hebrides and the Orkneys. To the government of the latter, he raised Sigurd *, who extended desolation, with his arms, to the peninsula which lies to the north of the Frith of Murray, drove the Catti from their ancient settlements; and his successors in the earldom of Orkney retained, for some time, the counties of Catness and Sutherland, as nominal vassals of the crown of Scotland.

The æra of the transmigration of the Catti into Caledonia is not easily ascertained, though that event probably happened long before Julius Cæsar displayed the Roman eagle in Germany. The Batavi descended from the Catti, possessed, in the days of the illustrious writer, the islands circumscribed by the mouths of the Rhine †. A domestic sedition was the cause of their secession from their mother-nation ‡; and the disturbances which drove

Migration
of a part of
the German
Catti

* Tantâ potentiâ, dignitate, opulentiâ a Pulchricomo auctus Sigurdus Cathanesiam et Sudurlandam redegit. Torfæus in Orad. lib. iv.

† Tempus secessionis haud facile monstratu est: jam longe ante Julii Cæsaris ætatem has oras cis Rhenum obsedisse credibile est. Cæsar primus nomen eorum apud Romanos prodidisse videtur, in Commentario iv. ubi Batavorum insulam memorat.

‡ Batavi non multum ex ripâ, sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt, Cattorum quondam populus; et seditione domestica in eas fedes transgressus. Tacit. Germ.

Batavi donec trans Rhenum agebant, pars Cattorum, seditione domestica pulsi. Tacit. Histor. lib. iv.

some of the Catti into the fens of Holland, might have forced others to cross the Ocean, and seize the peninsula which bears, to this day, their name. In a point of such antiquity, arguments derived from collateral circumstances must supply the place of positive proofs. Tacitus affirms, that the Caledonians were descended from the Celtic Germans; the name of a very numerous tribe, the belief of ages, the uninterrupted tradition of families, the appellation, and, with respect to Germany, the position of CATTA or Catness, all combined, furnish as much certainty on this point, as an event so far back in the gloom of time and barbarism seems to require.

into Cal-
edonia.

This partial emigration from Germany is not, however, sufficient to establish the opinion of the celebrated writer, with regard to the general origin of the Caledonians. In their very name, they bear a contrary proof; but the German colony might, by intermixing their blood with the eastern Gaël, have been the chief cause of that separation of government, which gave rise to the two national names of Picts* and Scots, under which the posterity of the Caledonians were distin-

* The traditions and histories of the families of the Scottish Catti affirm, that their ancestors actually came from BATAVIA, or, as it is called in the Itinerary, PATAVIA; and they assert, that the PICTAVIA of our ancient chronicles is a corruption of PATAVIA.

guished, toward the decline of the Roman power in the West. This much is certain, that the Catti of Caledonia formed a part of the Pictish nation; and, in opposition to the wild dreams of Scottish historians, have, in their posterity †, sent down an irrefragable proof, that the extirpation of the people did, by no means, attend the conquest of Pictavia. The conquest itself is even more doubtful, than that Kenneth succeeded to the throne of the Picts by the right of blood.

The Gaël, or ancient Gauls, having transmigrated from the continent at a period when the arts of civil life had made but very little progress among them, must have maintained themselves chiefly by hunting; and we may suppose, that in pursuit of their game they soon extended themselves to the northern extremity of the island. A people whose subsistence arises chiefly from the chase are never numerous; it is consequently natural to believe that the Cimbri met with little opposition from the Gaël, when the former passed from the continent and seized upon the southern division of Britain. The German Catti, by a parity of reason, might

The Gaël, however, the principal ancestors

† These are the MACPHERSONS, MACKINTOSHES, SUTHERLANDS, KEITHS, FARQUARSONS, and a variety of inferior tribes. *Gil-CATTIN-môr*, or the great CATTIN, called in some old songs lord Chatton, was their chief in the days of the second Kenneth.

with facility have found feats in the north-east point of Scotland, a country, in some of its regions, more fit for the plough than for the chace.

of the Scots
and Irish.

In proportion as the Cimbri advanced towards the north, the Gaël, being circumscribed within narrower limits, were forced to transmigrate into the islands which crowd the western coasts of Scotland. It is in this period, perhaps, we ought to place the first great migration of the British Gaël into Ireland; that kingdom being much nearer to the promontories of Galloway and Cantyre, than many of the Scottish isles are to the continent of North Britain. This vicinity of Ireland had probably drawn partial emigrations from Caledonia before the arrival of the Cimbri in Britain; but when these interlopers pressed upon the Gaël from the south, it is reasonable to conclude, that numerous colonies passed over into an island so near, and so much superior to their original country in climate and fertility.

Forced
northward
by the Bel-
gæ.

The inhabitants of the maritime regions of Gaul crossing, in an after age, the British Channel*, esta-

* *Maritima pars* (Britanniæ) *ab iis*, qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causa, ex Belgis tranfierant: et bello illato ibi remanserunt, atque agros colere cœperunt. Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. v.

blished

blished themselves on that part of our island which lies nearest to the continent; and, moving gradually towards the north, drove the Cimbri, perhaps, beyond the Severn and Humber. The Gaël of the north, reduced within limits still more circumscribed by the pressure of the Cimbri, sent fresh colonies into Ireland, while the Scottish friths became a natural and strong boundary towards the south to the unmixed Gaël who remained in Britain. On their frontiers the two great nations were mixed. The intermediate country between the Solway and the Forth was possessed by a people, who derived their origin, partly from the Cimbri, as well as from the GAËL; and they were afterwards distinguished by the name of Mæatæ, either expressive of their situation or of their extract.

To the country which the unmixed Gaël possessed they gave the name of CAËL-DOCH, which is the only appellation the Scots, who speak the Gaëlic language, know for their own division of Britain. CAËL-DOCH is a compound made up of GAËL or CAËL, the first colony of the ancient Gauls who transmigrated into Britain, and DOCH, a district or division of a country. The Romans, by transposing the letter L in CAËL, and by softening into a Latin termination the CH of DOCH, formed the well-known name of Caledonia. Obvious as this etymon of Caledonia appears, it was but very lately

Etymon of
Caledonia.

lately discovered*. Those who treated of the antiquities of North Britain were utter strangers to that only name by which the Scots distinguished the corner of Britain which their ancestors possessed from the remotest antiquity. From an ignorance, so unpardonable in antiquaries, proceeded that erroneous system of the origin of the Scots, which, for many ages, has been, with so much confidence, obtruded on the world.

Internal history unknown.

Concerning the internal state of Caledonia, and the division of its inhabitants into various tribes in a very early period, we can find nothing certain. The account given by Ptolemy of the Epidii, Catini, Cantæ, Logæ, and other nations, is little to be regarded. Tacitus passed over those petty communities in silence; and in the period between the expedition of Julius Agricola, and the reign of Marcus Aurelius, under whom the Egyptian geographer flourished, the Romans had no opportunity of being acquainted with the domestic arrangements of the Caledonians.

Their boundaries.

Though the Scottish friths are generally allowed to have been the boundaries of Caledonia towards the

* This etymon first occurred to the Author of this Essay, and he communicated it to Dr. Macpherson, who adopted it from a conviction of its justness.

South,

South, it is more than probable, as has been observed, that those tribes who possessed the country between the walls were principally descended from the ancient Gaël. The names of the Selgovæ and Gadeni, two petty communities on the northern banks of the Solway and Tweed, seem to strengthen this supposition. They carry in their signification a proof that the tribes who bore them were in a state of hostility with their neighbours the Ottadini and Brigantes, which furnishes a presumption that they derived their origin from a different quarter *.

But as the tract of country which is comprehended <sup>The Mæ-
atæ.</sup> between the Tweed and Solway, and the Scottish friths, was more exposed to invasion than Caledonia, we may conclude that the Gaël who possessed it were, in some degree, mixed with the Cimbric Ottadini and Brigantes, even before the invasions of the Romans pressed those tribes towards the North. It was from this unavoidable mixture that the Selgovæ, Gadeni, Damnii, and Novantes, were, in an after age, distinguished by the name

* SELGOVÆ is plainly SELGOVICH latinized. SELGOVICH literally signifies *hunters*, in a metaphorical sense *plunderers*; a name by which their successors in the same country ought to have been distinguished till within little more than a century back. GADENI is plainly from *Gadenin*, *robbers* or *thieves*; a name which arose from the same love of depredation with their friends and neighbours the Selgovæ.

of Mæatæ, which signifies a people descended from a double origin, as well as the inhabitants of a controverted country *.

* MOI-ATTA, or MOI-ATICH, the inhabitants of the plains, in allusion to the Lothians, when compared to the surrounding country: MÆAN-ATTA, the possessors of the middle country: MOAI-ATTA, a mixed people.

Δύο δὲ γένη τῶν Βρεττανῶν μέγιστ' αἱ εἰσὶ, Καληδόνιοι καὶ Μαιάται. καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων προσρήματα (ὥς εἰπεῖν) συγκεχώρηκεν. Οἰκοῦσι δὲ οἱ μὲν Μαιάται πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ διατειχίσματι, ὃ τὴν νήσον διχῇ τέμνει· Καληδιοὶ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνους. Dion. Cass. lxxvi.

THE ANCIENT SCOTS.

Preliminary Reflections.

THE field which now presents itself to inquiry is ^{Prejudices of the Irish} obscured by fiction, and deformed with polemical difficulties. The origin of the Scots has employed many more pens, than a point of so little importance seems to deserve; and writers have carried illiberality and abuse into a subject which reason and argument can only decide. Time, which smooths down in its progress the most rugged passions of the mind, has had no effect on the fury with which Ireland defends her tales. The dragon which guards the enchanted tree of Milesian genealogy is not to be charmed to sleep. Proof is called prejudice; and conviction itself is construed into insult.

Some men of letters in England are not silent spectators of the contest. With a generosity which they ^{and English writers censured.} may think necessary to the reputation of their nation, they aid the weaker side. They abet absurdity, on account of its antiquity; and, with a determined scepticism against arguments deduced from reason, cherish,

N

with

with affected credulity, fictions that disgrace common sense with their obvious folly. In a pretended, but awkward compliment to the Irish, they hope to dishonour the Scots, by fixing upon them an Hibernian origin; and by an oversight, not uncommon with the prejudiced, they weaken their system by their illiberality and rage.

Design of
the author.

To answer these, were to give a kind of importance to their errors. When they fall from argument to passion, they sink from the view of the Author of the Introduction; and he pursues his course with as much unconcern, as if no enemy were in the field. He wishes for no converts to his opinions, where he cannot thoroughly convince; nor will he attempt, like some of his adversaries, to bear down with abuse where he cannot persuade with reason. Indifferent, as to the event of the contest, he looks dispassionately on ancient times, and, at least, will endeavour that prejudice shall not add to the gloom with which they are involved. Tho' he confesses himself subject to error, he cannot admit that others have taken a more liberal view of the subject, or were accommodated with more light to direct their steps. He looks upon antiquity with respect, but not with superstition; and he thinks it no sacrilege to rend the veil, with which the ignorance of his ancestors has covered their origin.

Origin

Origin of the Scots.

The Caledonians, safe in their wild retreats, saw, The Scots, with unconcern, from their mountains, the various revolutions and changes to which its accessibleness subjected the southern Britain. Fierce and rude, as the face of the country which they possessed, they were neither objects of ambition to enemies, nor an easy acquisition to their fame. The efforts of the Romans failed; and the Saxons, who, in an after age, settled in their ports, and near the skirts of their mountains, from invaders sunk into subjects; and changing their opinions to that of their lords, became as zealous for the antiquity of the Scots, as if their blood descended, in the same channel, from the Caledonians, who, with so much spirit opposed the arms of Rome.

The Scoto-Saxons, who possessed the eastern coast of like other nations, mixed. Caledonia, sprung from trading settlements, established in the intermediate space of time, between the dissolution of the heptarchy and the Norman conquest; those to the south of the Forth were the remains of the kingdom of Northumberland, after its government was ruined by the Norwegians and Danes. In some measure addicted to commerce, the arts of civil life, and

even a degree of literature, made an earlier appearance among them, than among the Scots of the mountains. They retained their language and their manners; both which they communicated to the Court of Scotland; when the residence of the kings was removed to the South, during the fatal contests between the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes. The first records of the Scottish nation were written by the Scoto-Saxons, who, in their ignorance of the traditions and language of the Caledonians, framed their accounts upon the fictions which either prejudice or ignorance had fabricated in England and Ireland.

Descended
from various
nations.

The bulk of the Scots, though they boast of their antiquity, are not less mixed with foreigners than the surrounding nations. The Saxons are blended with the Caledonians in the South and East; and the Norwegians, by possessing the kingdom of Man for several ages, have left their blood in the Scottish isles. In the mountains of the continent, on the western and northern shores of Caledonia, the posterity of the GAËL, the first of mankind, perhaps, who migrated into Britain, have come down to modern times. But even these, it has been already observed, were mixed, in a very early period, with a colony which either accident or force drove from the mouths of the Rhine. The great body of the people,

people, however, or at least that part of the nation which carried down the government through time, were certainly a branch, or rather the remains, of the Caledonians who make such a figure in the history of Roman Britain.

The Caledonians, who, under various national names, possessed the Northern Britain in the days of Ptolemy, became divided into two great nations in the beginning of the third century. In the appellations of Picts and Scots, the old general name was lost; and, from this sudden change, writers have deduced the system of the Hibernian origin of the Scots, which we shall, at some length, confute. The western Caledonians are first mentioned, by the designation of Scoti, by Porphyrius, who wrote his declamation against Christianity about the two hundred and sixty-seventh year of our æra *. Eumenius, the panegyrist, mentions the Picts before that period; and if an argument against the Caledonian extraction of the Western Gaël, must be deduced from the silence of the ancients concerning the Scoti, till towards the close of the third century, one of equal force will arise, from the same quarter, against the British extract of the Eastern Gaël.

* Neque enim Britannia, fertilis provincia Tyrannorum, et SCOTICÆ gentes, omnesque usque ad oceanum per circuitum Barbaræ nationes, Moyse, Prophetasque cognoverant. Porphyr. apud Hieronymum.

descended
from the Ca-
ledonians.

But to enter upon this matter at present, would be to preoccupy a province reserved for some succeeding sections.

A reflection.

The gloom, which has settled upon this part of the history of the British nations, can only be dispelled with labour. The rust of antiquity lies thick on the subject; and some modern prejudiced writers, in crawling over it, have left behind them their slime. To aver, that both the Scoti and Picti are the genuine posterity of the Caledonians, is a position which will be hereafter justified with arguments and facts. Some men of abilities have already travelled over the ground. Ashamed of the credulity of their ancestors, they speak but slightly, though with confidence, on the subject; and the Author of the Introduction, by his minute attention to the objections of his opponents, has furnished them with the only specious argument on their side. To deny the fact is, perhaps, the only answer which ought to be made to an improbable tale: but antiquity, in its very follies, commands a kind of respect.

THE ANCIENT IRISH.

Preliminary Observations.

IN the barbarism which involved ancient Ireland, it is Preliminary difficult to trace the line of its history, or to ascertain the æra, in which that island received the first colony from Britain. Unvisited by the Romans, and destitute of internal literature, the transactions of the old Irish were confined to the romantic fictions of their Senachies, who added absurdity and folly to a credulity which disgusts the mind. To detect their errors, is to contend with shadows, which elude the grasp, and mock the pursuer as they fly. The voice of poetry seldom conveys the language of truth; and nations who have no better documents of antiquity, than the rude rhimes of Bards, ought to rest their fame on their more recent transactions.

In rejecting the Bards of Ireland, the Author of reflections, the Introduction deprived himself of the authority of the Poems of Ossian, which seem to strengthen the fabric which he means to rear. A writer who, notwithstanding his polemical fury, differs only from him in

in a very few and unessential particulars, takes up the unoccupied ground, and supports the system of Ossian, with a very considerable degree of erudition and argument. This foreign aid has given an additional weight to the testimony of the poet, even with him who is most interested in his fame; and to submit it here to the judgment of the world, will be no improper preliminary to the more certain evidence, which shall be hereafter produced from the writers of Greece and Rome.

Origin of the Irish according to Ossian and Whitaker.

Inaccuracy
of Ptolemy.

Ptolemy, in his succinct and inaccurate account of Ireland, has divided that island among eighteen tribes; the greatest number of which agree, in their names, with the petty states whom the Romans found in Britain in the progress of their conquests. Were the authority of the Egyptian geographer less questionable, he might have furnished a proof, that the British tribes, before their migration to Ireland, had arrived at a degree of civilization, which the character of its inhabitants does, by no means justify, upon their first appearance in history. The British origin of the Irish, is however less to be doubted, than that their country received colonies from our island, long before our ancestors rose into communities,

communities, subject to some kind of regulation and law.

To ascertain the æras of the various transmigrations of the tribes which Ptolemy has placed in Ireland, is a species of ingenious folly, to which fanciful antiquaries are frequently subject. The transactions of the inhabitants of the British isles, before the first light was thrown upon them by the Roman arms, are as much lost to mankind, as if they had never existed. To relate any thing concerning them, is to assume the merit of prophecy, without the inspiration; and is, in itself, a species of fiction, the less excusable, because it cannot even amuse. There is, however, a probability, in the conjecture, that the Gaël and Firbolg, whom Ossian found in Ireland, came at two very different periods from Britain.

The two nations whom Ossian and the learned supporter of the poet's system have armed against each other in Ireland, appear, from the difference in their manners and government, to have been long separated from the great Celtic source, from which they derived their common origin. The Firbolg, or Belgæ of Britain, who transmigrated to Ireland at, or a little after, the commencement of the Christian æra, went not so much in quest of settlements as conquests. The Britons, who

Antiquaries
reprehend-
ed.

Two Bri-
tish nations
in Ireland.

passed in an early period from the nearest shores of North Britain, had wandered over the face of the country; and had even arrived at a degree of civilization, which, though it had not rendered them equal in the arts of civil life to the Belgæ, had considerably polished their manners and elevated their minds.

The Belgæ
and Gaël.

The incroachments of the Belgæ soon roused the old British nations, who had long inhabited Ireland, to arms. Overcome in various battles, they found themselves obliged to apply to their mother-country, for a reinforcement of warriors, and a chief of renown, to unite, by his authority, the strength of the tribes against the common enemy. The office of general, bestowed on Conar of the royal family of Caledonia, grew into a monarchy in the hands of his race. The war against the Belgæ continued, with various success, till it was finally ended by Fingal, upon the total defeat of the Belgæ and the death of their sovereign Cathmor. The family of Conar, reinstated in the sovereignty by the Caledonians, continued to hold the reins of government in Ireland; and the manners and language of the Firbolg were lost in the prevailing customs and tongue of the conquerors.

Aburdity of
the opinion
of

The poet thus far supports the system of the antiquary. The story of the remigration of the Hiberno-

Caledonians

Caledonians into North Britain, about the three hundred and twentieth year of our æra, is founded upon a poetical expression of Ossian. An enthusiast in favour of the warlike companions of his youth, whom he had long survived, he despises the new race, who had risen around him in his age. He calls himself “the last of the race of battle;” and the learned antiquary concludes him to be the last of his family. The monarch of Ireland descended of the royal house of Fingal, must supply the vacant throne of Caledonia with one of his sons. The attendants of this pretended prince were the ancestors of the Scots. A tale no less incredible, than were some future historian to affirm, that the French retinue of Philip V. filled all Spain with a new nation.

A metaphorical expression in the works of an ancient Bard having given its sole foundation to the system of an Hiberno-Caledonian remigration into Scotland, we may oppose it with a poetical tradition of another kind. The three elder sons of Fingal, king of the British Caledonians, dying without issue, the succession devolved upon Fergus, the fourth son, and his posterity. Fergus, according to some very ancient poems, was the father of Congal, whose son Arcath was the father of that Fergus, who is called by some historians and antiquaries the first king of the Caledonian Scots. This tradition,

a remigration into Scotland from Ireland.

tradition, though from its antiquity uncertain, is not altogether improbable, at least it has less the appearance of fiction than the obvious fable already exposed.

Genuine Origin of the Irish.

Ireland first
peopled
from Bri-
tain,

The vicinity of Ireland to two promontories in the Northern Britain, furnishes a strong presumption that the inhabitants of the former transmigrated, in an early period, from the latter *. Besides, there is not a fact concerning any nation, beyond the pale of the Roman empire, better established by the testimony of writers of unquestionable authority, than the British extraction of the old Irish.

proved from
foreign wri-
ters;

The ancients with one voice agreed to give to Ireland the appellation of a British Island †. Ptolemy calls it the Lesser Britain, and Strabo, in his Epitome, gives the name of Britons to its inhabitants. Diodorus Siculus ‡

* L'Irlande est si voisine de la Grande Bretagne qu'on persuade aisément qu'elle lui doit ses premiers habitants. Bullet Mem. sur la Langue Celtique.

† Camden in Hibernia, cap. i.

‡ Ἀγριώτατων δὲ ὄντων (Gallorum) τῶν ὑπὸ τὰς ἀρκτοὺς κατοικούντων φασὶ τινὰς ἄνθρωπους εἰσθίειν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν Βρεττανῶν τοὺς κατοικούντας τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἰρίν. Diod. Sic. lib. v.

mentions

mentions it as a fact well known in his time, that the Irish were of British extract, as well as that the Britons themselves derived their blood from the Gauls. Cornelius Tacitus affirms, that the nature and manners of the Irish did not, in the days of Domitian, differ much from the Britons * ; and many foreign writers of great authority give their testimony to the British descent of the old inhabitants of Ireland †.

The most romantic abettors of the fabulous system of Irish antiquities durst not deny a fact so well ascertained from every quarter. They acknowledged, on the authority of the Hibernian Senachies, that British colonies, a short time after the universal deluge, transmigrated into Ireland from North Britain. But these ill-fated Britons, like many other interlopers from various parts of the world, who succeeded them in Ire-

acknowledged by domestic antiquaries.

* *Ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt.* Tacit. Vit. Agric. cap. 24.

† Festus Avienus shews, from Dionysius, where he treats of the British Isles, that Ireland was peopled by Britons.

*Hæ numero geminæ, pingues Solo, cespitis ampli,
Dira Britannorum sustentant agmina terris.*

Ἡ Βρετανίδες εἰσι δύο νῆσοι, Ουερνία καὶ Αλουϊόν, ἥτοι Βερνία καὶ Αλβίων. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg.—Ἰουερνία ἡ Πρετανικὴ νησος τῶν δύο ελασσων. Stephan. de Urb.

land,

land, had the misfortune to fall under the displeasure of the Senachies, and were inhumanly exterminated, to make room for the Milesian Scots, so famous in the fictions and rhimes of the Bards.

The British
Gael
the ancestors
of the
Irish.

It is little to the purpose to enquire whether the Scythian Nomades, who, prior to the migrations of the Gauls, wandered over the vast regions of Europe, found their way into Ireland from the nearest promontories of Britain. The name of GAËL, still retained by the old Irish, sufficiently demonstrates that they derive their blood from those Gaël or Gauls, who, in an after period, were distinguished in Britain by the name of Caledonians. The wildest enthusiasts in Hibernian antiquities never once asserted that the Caledonians, or their posterity the Picts, were of Irish extract; yet nothing is better ascertained than that the ancient Britons of the South gave to the Scots, the Picts, and the Irish, the common name of Gaël*; and consequently that they very justly concluded that the three

* Mr. O'Connor, who lately gave to the public some wild, incoherent tales, concerning the ancient Irish, endeavours to obviate the strength of the argument, which rises against his system from the name of GAËL, by disguising the word, by the insertion of the intermediate letters, *Db*, as thus, *Gadbel*. The subterfuge avails nothing. *Db* are universally quiescent, or at most sound like a *Y*, in every dialect of the Celtic language.

nations derived their origin from the same source, the ancient GAËL of the continent.

The British Gaël, in an early age, extending themselves to the very extremities of the island, descried Ireland from the Mulls of Galloway and Cantire, and crossing the narrow channel which separates the two countries, became the progenitors of the Irish nation. In proportion as fresh emigrants from the continent of Europe forced the ancient Gaël towards the North in Britain, more colonies transmigrated into Ireland from the promontories which we have so often mentioned. It is probable that it was after the arrival of the Cimbri in Britain, a number of the GAËL, sufficient to deserve the name of a nation, settled themselves in Ireland. But they became so numerous in that country before the arrival of the Belgæ in Britain, that the colonies which transmigrated from that nation into Ireland were, together with their language, manners, and customs, lost in the Gaël; so that in one sense the Caledonians may be reckoned the sole progenitors of the old Irish*.

Conjecture concerning the time of their transmigration.

* The Firbolg, so often mentioned in the traditions of the Irish, were Belgic colonies who transmigrated from Britain after the Belgæ had seized on the southern division of England. They are mentioned very frequently under the name of *Siol na m Bolga* in the poems of Ossian.

When

Etymon of
the name of
Erin;

When the Gaël arrived first in Ireland they naturally gave it the name of IAR-IN *, or the western country, in contradistinction to their original settlements in Britain. From IAR-IN is not only to be deduced the EIRIN of the Irish themselves, but those various names by which the Greeks and Romans distinguished their island †. The appellation of IAR-IN was not altogether confined to Ireland by the Gaël of North Britain. They gave it also to those numerous islands which crowd the western coasts of Caledonia; but when by degrees they became acquainted with the vast extent of Ireland, when compared to the other Scottish isles, they called it by an emphasis H'IARIN, or H'EIRIN, the western country or island ‡.

and of Hi-
bernia.

Hibernia, the most common name by which the Romans distinguished Ireland, may appear to some too

* IAR-IN, or as the Irish pronounce the word, EIR-IN, is compounded of *Iar*, West; and *In*, Island. EIR-IN is the name which the natives, in all ages, gave to Ireland.

† Juverna, Ierna, Iris, Οὐερνία, Hibernia.

‡ The proper and more ancient general appellation of the Scottish Isles is IAR-IN, and from that name, as shall hereafter appear, Claudian derived his Ierna. After the conquest of the Hebrides by Harold Harfager king of Norway, the whole string of islands which stretch along the western shores of North Britain, were called by the Scots on the continent, *Inch-Gaul*, or the Islands of Foreigners.

remote in the pronunciation and orthography from IAR-IN, or H'EIRIN, to be derived from either. This difficulty is easily removed. Julius Cæsar mentions, for the first time, Ireland under the name of Hibernia. One of two reasons induced the illustrious writer to use that appellation. He either latinized the H'YVERDHON of the southern Britons, or, what is more probable, he annexed to Ireland a name which suited his own ideas of its air and climate. The Romans, long after the expedition of Cæsar, entertained a very unfavourable opinion of the climate of Ireland; Strabo thought that the severity of the weather rendered that island extremely uncomfortable*, and Pomponius Mela was told that corn never ripened there, on account of the inclemency of the seasons†. The attention of Cæsar was engaged by much more important objects than in informing himself minutely concerning the climate of a country to which he never intended to carry his arms. If Strabo and Mela, whose subject led to inquiries of that kind, supposed that the air of Ireland was extremely intemperate, it is no wonder that Cæsar should have fallen into a similar mistake; and we may from

* Strabo, lib. ii.

† Supra Britanniam Juvena est coeli ad maturanda semina iniqui. Pomp. Mela, lib. iv.

this circumstance conclude, that he formed the name of Hibernia from the adjective Hibernus. He thought that a perpetual winter reigned in Ireland; and he was informed that, in the lesser islands in the neighbourhood, one winter night was equal to thirty in Italy*.

Letters unknown in Ancient Ireland.

Observations.

A deduction of the etymon of Hibernia from another fountain, gave birth, perhaps, to a system concerning the origin of the Irish, diametrically opposite to that which we mean to establish. The world are well acquainted with the pretensions which the Irish have made, for many ages, to very high antiquities, as well as to an original very different from the other inhabitants of the British Isles. Instead of transmigrating from the nearest continent, in the natural progress of migration, it seems that the first colonies came to Ireland, across an immense ocean, at a period when the rude navigation of the other nations of Europe scarcely enabled them to waft themselves over rivers and narrow arms of the sea.

* Qua ex parte est Hibernia complures præterea minores objectæ insulæ existimantur; de quibus insulis nonnulli scripserunt dies continuos xxx sub bruma esse noctem. Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. v.

To support this improbable tale, another was formed no less incredible in itself than the fact it was meant to ascertain. The fabricators of the Irish antiquities found that an early knowlege of letters in their country was absolutely necessary to gain credit to the system which they so much wished to establish. Ireland therefore was made the seat of polite literature many ages before Greece itself rose out of ignorance and barbarity. To remove this support from the antiquities of the Irish, is to destroy at once that whole fabric of fiction, which they possess for their ancient history.

Pretensions
of the old
Irish to let-
ters.

The art of perpetuating ideas, and of transmitting the wisdom of one age to another, is the first means of civilizing mankind out of their natural ferocity and barbarity. When some certain marks are found to send down the memory of inventions and transactions through a series of generations, a nation becomes polished in proportion to the length of time it has been in possession of that art. Before the Phœnicians taught the use of the alphabet to the Ionians *, Peloponnesus and the islands of Greece were possessed by tribes as obscure and contemptible, as those wild Indians who wander through

Reflections.

* Gentium consensus tacitus, primus omnium conspiravit ut Ionum literis uterentur. Plin. lib. vii.

the forests of America. The progress of the Greeks towards the figure which they make in history, accompanied the gradual cultivation of polite learning in their country; and we find, that from a possession of letters for a few centuries, they arrived at such a pitch of civilization, that it was not without reason they distinguished other nations by the name of Barbarians.

Pretended
civility of
the old Irish,

As the Irish pretend to have been even before the Greeks *, in point of time, with regard to the reception of letters, we ought naturally to expect that they became civilized in a very early period. The annals of Ireland are accordingly full of the progress of civility, and the encouragement given to polite learning in that country, many ages before any other nation in Europe extricated itself from the shades of ignorance and barbarity. But these annals deserve little credit on a matter of such high antiquity. The Psalter Cashel, the oldest record of the Irish transactions, was written in the latter end of the tenth age, more than two thousand years after the pretended importation of letters into Ireland.

confuted
from the
testimony

The only credible accounts of the manners of the old Irish, as well as of the other barbarous nations of

* Kennedy's Genealogy, pref. p. 26.

Europe, must be derived from the writers of Rome; and these do not go beyond the commencement of the Christian æra, which is, at least, a thousand years posterior to the period assigned by the Irish for the introduction of learning among their ancestors. Unfortunately for the Hibernian system of antiquities, by the testimony of foreign writers who extended their enquiries to Ireland, the character of its ancient inhabitants is utterly incompatible with that civilization which invariably accompanies any knowlege of letters*.

Strabo is the first writer who mentions any particulars concerning the manners of the old Irish. His account differs in no respect from the relations we have of the most unpolished savages of Africa and America. In one place † he affirms, that Ireland, which lies near Britain, is possessed by a race of men altogether wild and unpolished; and in another he not only says, that the Irish were much more barbarous than the Britons, but he even mentions several instances of their brutal ferocity of manners, which decency obliges us to leave under the veil of a dead language ‡.

The

* Innes' Critical Essay, p. 428.

† "Αγρίων τελεως ανθρωπων. Strabo, lib. ii.

‡ "Αγριώτεροι τῶν Βρεττανῶν "Ανθρωποφάγοι, πολυφάγοι, τὲ ὄντες, τοὺς τὲ πατέρας τηλευτησαντας κατέσθien ἐν καλῷ τιθέμενοι,
και

Diodorus
Siculus,

The testimony of Diodorus Siculus is not more favourable, than that of Strabo, to the national character of the Irish. They were, in the days of that writer, so far from being civilized by a long possession of letters, that they were thought to feed upon human bodies. The authority of Diodorus not only destroys the fiction of the early knowledge of letters in Ireland, but also ruins that system of antiquities, to support which, the fiction itself was first framed. He shews that the Irish, so far from coming from a distant country, were a branch of those Gauls who had possessed themselves of Britain in the period we have already assigned *.

Pomponius
Mela,

The account given of the Irish by Pomponius Mela is extremely unfavourable to their pretended civilization by

και φανερώς μίσγεσθαι ταῖς τὲ ἄλλαις γυναῖξιν, και μητράσι, και ἀδελ-
φαῖς. Agrestissimi omnium Britannorum (sunt Hiberni) homines edunt,
plurimum cibi vorant; pro honesto ducunt mortuorum parentum corpora
comedere, et palam concubitus inire cum matribus et sororibus. Strabo,
lib. iv. It is but justice to observe that Strabo does not vouch for the
authenticity of the above account; but it is impossible to suppose that
even the report of such barbarity could exist, had the Irish been more
humanized than their Celtic brethren in Britain.

* Ἀγριωτάτων δὲ Γαλαῶν τῶν ὑπο τὰς ἄρκτους κατοικούντων
φασὶ τινὰς ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίειν, ὥσπερ και τῶν Βρεττανῶν τοὺς τὰ τοῖς κατοικούντας
τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἴριν. Ferocissimi Gallorum sunt qui sub septentrionibus
habitant; dicunt ex iis nonnullos Anthropophagos esse sicut Britannos
qui Irim incolunt. Diod. Sic. lib. v.

a long possession of letters. He calls them a race of men unpolished, barbarous, and ignorant of every virtue *. Cornelius Tacitus, after having described those rude tribes in Britain, whom the Romans had not humanized, observes, that the inhabitants of Ireland did not differ much in their manners from the Britons †. Neither was the national character of the old Hibernians mended at all in the second or third century ‡, when Julius Solinus stigmatized them with the epithets of rude, inhuman, and inhospitable, a race of men who were in such a state of rudeness that they made no distinction between right and wrong §.

Cornelius Tacitus,

Julius Solinus.

In vain has it been said that the writers, whose authority we have cited, were ill-informed concerning the manners of the Irish, and that barbarity in which their country was anciently involved. The Britons, who,

Objections answered.

* Cultores ejus (Hiberniæ) inconditi, et omnium virtutum ignari. Pomp. Mela, lib. iv.

† Ingenia cultusque hominum non multum a Britannia differunt. Tacit. Vit. Agric. xxxiv.

‡ The precise time in which Julius Solinus wrote is not well ascertained.

§ Hibernia in humana ritu incolarum aspera, gens inhospita; fas atque nefas eodem animo ducunt. Solinus, xxxvi.

according

according to Strabo*, resorted to Rome, could not have been ignorant of the state of Ireland. From those Britons, we may conclude that both Strabo and Mela derived their informations concerning the Hibernians; and in the days of Tacitus the ports of Ireland were so well known, that the celebrated writer could not possibly have been ignorant of the real character of its inhabitants†. Solinus had even a better opportunity than Strabo, Mela, and Tacitus, to become acquainted with the manners of the Irish. Britain had been a province of the empire two centuries, at least, before Solinus wrote. Some communication must have been maintained between the two islands during that period, and of course the Romans could not have been strangers to the real manners of the inhabitants of Ireland.

The manners of the old Irish inconsistent with a knowledge of letters.

The genuine national character of the Irish, at a time when their Senachies say they had been in possession of letters for more than a thousand years, being thus ascertained, we find it absolutely inconsistent with learning, and that civility which is the invariable companion of literature. It was from this consideration

* Ἀντίπαιδας γὰρ ἡμεῖς εἶδομεν ἐν Ρώμῃ. Strabo, lib. iv.

† Melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Tacit. Vit. Agric. xxiv.

that

that the most learned and unbiaſſed among the moderns rejected as mere fable and romance, what is related concerning letters in Ireland, prior to the miſſion of Patrick, and the reign of Leogaire. The celebrated Camden looked upon the barbarity and ignorance of the ancient Irifh as facts ſo well aſcertained, that he produces them as proofs that the Romans, who poliſhed thoſe nations whom they ſubdued, never extended their empire to Ireland *. Sir James Ware, though very zealous for the honour of his country, gave no credit to the pretenſions of the Irifh to any knowlege of an alphabet, before they were introduced with Chriſtianity † ; and the learned Uſher, by his ſilence concerning the affairs of Ireland beyond the fifth age, ſeems to join iſſue upon that head with Ware ‡.

* Animum vix inducere poſſum ut hanc regionem, (Hiberniam) in Romanorum poteſtatem, ullo tempore, conceſſiſſe credam. Fauſtum fane felixque Hiberniæ fuiſſet, ſi conceſſiſſet ; certe barbariem exuiſſet ; ubicunque enim Romani victores erant, victos humanitate excoluerunt. Nec fane alibi per Europam, humanitatis, literarum et elegantiae cultus, niſi ubi illi imperarunt. Camden, in Hibernia.

† Per exiguam ſupereſſe notitiam rerum in Hibernia geſtarum ante exortam ibi Evangelii auroram liquido conſtat. Notandum quidem descriptiones fere omnium, quæ de illis temporibus (ante Patricii in Hiberniam adventum,) extant, opera eſſe poſteriorum ſeculorum. War. de antiq. Hiberniæ.

‡ Uſſerius in analibus ſacris.

Q

Bolandus

The old
Irish illite-
rate, proved

Bolandus and the industrious Innes have entered into a serious refutation of the pretensions of Ireland to letters in the times of Paganism. Both these writers, as well as Ware, prove from Nennius*, that the first alphabet was taught in that island by St. Patrick. To strengthen the assertion of Nennius, Ware produced the authority of Tirochan, who, in the seventh age, wrote the life of the apostle of Ireland†. To these authorities Innes subjoins some critical observations of his own, which in themselves are enough to destroy the credit of the whole legend concerning the literature of the Pagan Irish.

from their
using fo-
reign terms
in their let-
ters, &c.

The ingenious father very shrewdly observes, that the bare terms which the Romans used in their letters, arts, and sciences, sufficiently demonstrate, without having recourse to history, that they derived their polite learning from Greece‡. In the same manner the proper terms by which the Irish, in their vulgar language, express every thing concerning letters and science, being

* Sanctus Patricius scripsit Abietoria 365 et eo amplius numero; Nenn. lix.

† Unde constat opinor, abgetoria significare alphabetum, five elementa quæ scripsit et docuit S. Patricius. War. de Script. Hibern. lib. ii.

‡ Grammatica, Rhetorica, Logica, Philosophia, cum multis aliis.

Latin words hibernized*, leave no room to doubt that they were taught first to read and write by persons who spoke the Roman language. But as the Romans never entered Ireland, it is certain that the Irish did not receive those terms immediately from that nation. The first preachers of the gospel in Ireland, who had their education at Rome, were consequently those who introduced into that country the knowledge of letters, and the Roman terms by which their different uses were expressed.

In vain, continues Innes, has O'Flaherty †, and the ingenious father might have added many other Irish writers, affirmed that Ireland is, or was possessed of any books, whether of poetry or history, written before the introduction of Christianity into that island ‡. from their want of written monuments;

* *Litera, Lietar; Liber, Leabar; Lego, leagmi; Scribo, Scribmi; Penna, Pénn; &c. &c.* It is an unaccountable oversight in O'Flaherty, or in the Senachies, from whom he derived his information, to give the name of *Taible-filea* to those wooden tables, upon which, it is pretended, the Pagan Irish wrote. *Taiblé*, if it is not derived from the English word *Table*, certainly owes its origin to the *tabula* of the Romans. Had the credulous antiquary used the Irish *Clár*, he might have avoided a circumstance which bears hard upon his own system.

† Ogygia xxx.

‡ Innes' Critical Essay, p. 44.

This is manifestly begging the question, till these books are given to the public with literal translations and documents to prove their authority, their age, and where they have been preserved through so long a series of ages. The learned Ware, after all his enquiries, could not find one writer of Irish history or antiquities prior to the author of the Psalter-Cashel, whom he places in the tenth century; though from what Ware himself cites from the Psalter in another place *, it must have been written after the commencement of the eleventh age.

from the
form of
their alpha-
bet;

The arbitrary order in which the Irish of the middle ages placed their alphabet, and the fanciful appellations they gave them, prove only that the Hibernian Senachies formed a very early design to deceive the world on the article of their antiquities. But arguments arising from those two circumstances can only deceive those who have not compared old Irish manuscripts with the records of any other nation in Europe, prior to the invention of printing. The perfect identity observable in the forms of the letters in both sufficiently confutes this idle tale, unless we are to suppose that the Irish, and not the Romans, humanized and taught letters to all the European nations.

* Ware, de presulibus Hiberniæ.

It is unnecessary, with Bolandus and Innes, to pursue the abettors of the pretended literature of Ireland, before the mission of St. Patrick, through all the maze of a contest, in which positive assertions, on the side of the latter, supply the place of argument. To a brief detail of some other unanswerable objections advanced by the two learned writers, we shall annex additional observations, to put an end for ever to the dispute. Keating, O'Flaherty, and Toland, upon the authority of the book of *Lecan*, a manuscript scarcely three hundred and fifty years old, affirm that one Phenius Farfa invented the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Irish alphabets, together with the Ogum of Ireland, little more than a century after the universal deluge. A legend which says that the Greek alphabet was invented many ages before Cecrops and Cadmus, and the Latin characters seventeen centuries before the Romans were a people, is too ridiculous to deserve any serious consideration. But this idle story is not more pregnant with absurdity than the mention that is made of Adam, Cain, Noah, the deluge, Moses, Pharaoh, and many other names and transactions in the old testament, in annals said to have been written many ages before Christianity introduced into Europe any knowledge of the Jewish history and antiquities.

The

The Ogum
a species of
stenogra-
phy.

The Irish being in some measure obliged to acknowledge that the Bethluifnion, notwithstanding the arbitrary transposition of the letters, and the puerile fancy of imposing upon them the names of trees, by the Bards and Senachies of the middle ages, was borrowed from the Latin, still continue to insist that their ancestors, in remote antiquity, made use of characters distinguished by the name of Ogum. Ogum is a word which has no affinity with any other in the Irish language, and seems therefore to have been a cant name imposed upon a species of stenography or cypher, in which the old Irish, like many other nations, wrote their secrets. Sir James Ware, whose authority is often cited to prove the existence of the Ogum, shews plainly that it was a kind of short hand, varied according to the fancy of those that used it, and consequently that it did not merit the title of an alphabet*.

Contradictions between the ancient and modern Irish annalists.

There is no circumstance more conclusive against the learning of the Pagan Irish, than the contradictions between the ancient writers, and those of the modern annalists of Ireland. The antiquaries of that country,

* Præter characteres vulgares utebantur veteres Hiberni variis occultis scribendi formulis, seu artificiis *Ogum* dictis, quibus secreta sua scribebant. Ware, de Antiq. Hibern. ii.

in proportion as the general history of the world became more and more known to them, reformed, new-modelled, and retrenched the extravagances of the first rude draught of Hibernian antiquities formed by the Bards and Fileas. Had letters been cultivated in Ireland in so early a period as is pretended, systems of the history of that country would have been so anciently formed, and so well established by the sanction of their antiquity, that neither Keating nor O'Flaherty durst, in the seventeenth age, give a complete turn to the Irish antiquities. But that no such system was formed, is demonstrable from the silence concerning the times of Heathenism, in the most ancient annals of Ireland, of the existence of which we have any satisfactory proof*.

To close with one decisive argument this controversy: It is to be observed that the settlement of the Milesians, under the name of Scots, in Ireland, about a thousand years before the Christian æra, is the capital point established by the pretended literature of the Heathen Irish. Should this early settlement be once ascertained, it natu-

Decisive
proof a-
gainst the
pretended
literature
of the old
Irish.

* These are the annals of Ulster, Tigernach, and Innisfail, all of which begin the history of Ireland about the middle of the fifth age, and end it in the eleventh century. Vid. Waræum de Scriptoribus Hiberniæ, passim.

rally ought to follow that the British Scots derived their blood from those of Ireland; if they did, they must have carried with them to Caledonia that learning, science, and civility, which had made so great a progress in their mother country before they transmigrated from it. But nothing is more certain than that the British Scots were an illiterate people, and involved in barbarism, even after St. Patrick's mission to the Scots of Ireland. The abettors of the Irish antiquities are then reduced into this dilemma; either the Scots of North Britain did not derive their origin from Ireland, or else the Irish had not any knowledge of letters when the British Scots transmigrated from their country. If the first position is true, the whole credit of the Milesian story is at an end; if the latter, on the other hand, is the fact, no memory remains in Ireland of transactions prior to the mission of St. Patrick, and the reign of Leogaire.

General
conclusions.

From the general result of our enquiry upon this subject, we may conclude with Sir James Ware, that nothing certain is known concerning the affairs of Ireland before the middle of the fifth age*. We may

* Ad predecessores Leogarii quod attinet, eos certe consilio omisi quia pleraque quæ de iis traduntur, ut quod sentio dicam, vel fabulæ sunt, vel fabulis et anachronismis mire admixta. War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. iv.

also, with the same learned writer *, take it for granted that the account of their Heathen ancestors, retailed by the annalists, antiquaries, and historians of Ireland, are the impostures of later ages †. It were to be wished that the writers of that country, who understood the ancient Galic, had not given room to suspect that they themselves were conscious of those impostures, by their concealing from the public those monuments of their ancient history from which they pretend to derive their information. But had they given them to the world, it is highly probable that external argument would be very unnecessary to prove that the literature of Ireland commenced with the mission of St. Patrick.

It is a matter of some wonder that the Irish remain so long wedded to a ridiculous system of antiquities, which throws the reproach of credulity upon their nation. Every other polished people, who, in the times of ignorance, had set up high schemes of antiquity, have now extricated their history from the fables of their dark ages. Had there been a scarcity of men

Irish writers reprehended.

* Per exiguam superesse notitiam rerum in Hibernia gestarum, ante exortam ibi Evangelii auroram, liquido constat. War. de Antiq. Hib. præf. i. p. 1.

† Notandum quidem descriptiones fere omnium, quæ de illis temporibus, antiquioribus dico, extant, OPERA ESSE POSTERIORUM SEULORUM. Warræus, ubi supra.

of abilities and learning in Ireland, some excuse might be framed for this blind attachment to the legends of the Bards. But as that country hath produced very able men, and qualified to form a solid foundation for a true history of their ancestors, they deserve to be severely animadverted upon, for not rescuing their antiquities, from that obscurity and fiction in which they have been involved, by some modern, prejudiced, and injudicious writers.

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

BRITISH AND IRISH SCOTS.

Preliminary Observations.

THE dark regions of Irish antiquity oppose more General ob-
servation. than their barrenness to inquiry. To the common gloom, which covers the origin of other nations, the Bards of Ireland have added clouds of their own. The desert of their ancient history, to use a metaphor, is haunted by goblins and strange forms, which distract the attention and offend the eye. To encounter the absurdities which the more ancient Irish possess for the annals of their remote ages, is not an arduous, but a disagreeable and tedious task. The field is ample, but it produces no laurels; the combat is not dangerous, but the victory will be attended by no fame. But the professed design of this work gives propriety to a minute inquiry into the pretensions of Ireland to high antiquities, and the public, it is hoped, will forgive the prolixity of the disquisition, on account of the necessity which has imposed so dry a subject upon the Author.

Conclusions
against the
domestic
accounts of
the Irish.

From the principles already established we may draw the following just conclusions: That the history of the Milesian colony, which, it is pretended, transmigrated from Spain into Ireland under the conduct of Heremon and Heber, is absolutely unworthy of any credit: That the long list of kings, who are said to have held the scepter of Ireland, for thirteen centuries before the Christian æra, had their existence only in the distempered fancies of the Bards of latter ages; and, in short, that every thing related in their domestic annals concerning the Irish, prior to the mission of St. Patrick, ought to be banished to the region of fiction and romance. Whatever dreamers in remote antiquities may be pleased to say, it is an undisputable fact, that the transactions of a nation, illiterate in itself, and too distant or obscure to be distinctly seen by foreign writers, must for ever lie buried in oblivion. The Irish, we have already seen, were so far from having the advantage of the Greeks and Romans in an earlier knowledge of letters*, that, on the contrary, they remained much longer in ignorance than the inhabitants of the regions of the West and North, whom the latter of those illustrious nations subdued and humanized.

The only means the old Irish had to preserve the memory of their actions were the rhimes of the Bards,

* Ken. Geneal. pref. p. 26.

a race of men retained by all the illiterate nations descended from the great Celtic stock. Without insisting on the known uncertainty of history in rhyme, we may affirm that a dull narrative of facts in verse could never take hold of the human mind in a degree sufficient to transmit a knowledge of events, by oral tradition, through any considerable length of time. Granting then every possible indulgence to the traditional history of Ireland, we cannot admit that it extends much beyond the middle of the fifth age, if even to record the rhimes of the Heathen Bards had been the first use made of the alphabet introduced by St. Patrick. But as it is not, in any degree, probable that the first converts in Ireland would employ their time in collecting and recording historical poems, which were tinged, perhaps, with the ancient superstition, we may naturally place the commencement of the fabulous, as well as of the true history of that island, posterior to the introduction of Christianity.

History of
Ireland
commences
with St.
Patrick.

Spanish Extraction of the Irish examined and confuted.

The Irish annalists have, for many ages, adhered invariably to the pretended descent of their nation from the old Spaniards. The confidence with which they have always spoken on this subject, induced some learned men, who gave no credit to an early knowledge

Spanish ex-
traction of
the Irish
before the
Christian
æra,

lege

lege of letters in Ireland, to suppose that there was some foundation in fact for a story, concerning which, tradition had brought intimations from every quarter. But to those who had well considered the state of ancient Europe, it will appear just as improbable that the Spaniards could transport themselves into Ireland before the Christian æra, as it is impossible to believe that any memory of that event, had it actually happened, could have been preserved by tradition to the introduction of letters by St. Patrick.

highly im-
probable.

It does not appear that much of the knowlege of the arts of civil life was extended to the inhabitants of the mountains of Asturia and Gallicia, from the settlement established by the Phœnicians in the island of Gades. So far were the old Spaniards, who possessed the shore of the Atlantic, from improving themselves in navigation by their vicinity to the ocean, that Strabo affirms *, that from their situation they were cut off from all commerce with the rest of mankind. Of all the inhabitants of the Celtiberian division of Spain, Diodorus Siculus remarks †, that the Vaccæi were the

* Παρωκεανῆτις προσειληφύα και ἀνεπίπλεκτρον τοῖς ἄλλοις ὥς θ' ὑπερβαλλει τὴν μοχθηρίαν της οἰκησιως. Strabo, lib. iii.

† Χαρίεστατον δε τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἐθνῶν αὐτοῖς ἐστι το των Ὀυκκαιων ὀνομαζομενων σύστημα. Ὅυτοι γαρ καθ' ἑκάσων ἐτος διακαιρουμενοι την χώραν, γεωργοуσι. Died. Sic. lib. v.

most humanized, for they had some knowlege in agriculture. But if a small skill in one of the earliest and rudest arts entitled the Vaccæi to the character of a civilized people, when compared to the neighbouring tribes, we may, with justice, conclude that those tribes had not made a progress in navigation sufficient to make them venture into the ocean, and transport a colony into Ireland.

The scheme of deducing the Irish Scots from the Spaniards prior to the Christian æra, was dropt as in-
dropt as in-
defensible.
 defensible by those of the most learning and judgment, who examined the subject. After Innes had destroyed the credit of the Milesian tale, he found it necessary to investigate the origin of the Scots in some other way. He proposed to himself as a question, from whence, and at what period, came the Scots into Ireland? "They came," says the ingenious father, "either from
 "Scandia or Cantabria, about the time of the incar-
 "nation, or rather a little time after it.*"

The antiquaries of England either did not examine
 with attention the origin of the Scots, or averse to
 enter into a contest with the Irish about a matter in
 which their own nation was not materially concerned,
Vague con-
clusions of
English an-
tiquaries.

* Innes' Critical Essay.

spoke very undecisively on this subject. Stillingfleet thought that the Scots were Scythians from Scandinavia; but the time of their transmigration he does not attempt to assign*. Camden, contrary to his usual precision, is full of uncertainty on this head. They were, says the celebrated writer, Scythians from Spain, Scandia, or Germany. At one time he makes them the posterity of those Goths whom Constantine expelled from Spain; at another time, they are a motley aggregate of many nations; and last of all, they are descendants of those Britons who first possessed themselves of Ireland†.

Innes'
scheme.

It is idle, on this subject, to listen to the tales of the Bards, annalists, and antiquaries of Ireland; they have been heard out and confuted. Innes is the only writer who has reduced the origin of the Scots into a regular system; and he endeavours to defend it. Should the ingenious father's scheme be destroyed, the Caledonian extraction of the Irish must of course rise upon its ruins. The Scots, says Innes, were foreigners who invaded or conquered Ireland in the first age of Christianity. Two kinds of proofs, observes the ingenious father, are necessary to establish this proposition; the

* Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan.

† Camden, Britan. in Scotis.

testimony of cotemporary writers, and the effects arising from such an invasion and conquest.

In vain did Innes search for the testimony of writers to support the credit of this Hibernian revolution *. Proofs from the ancients against it. Diodorus Siculus, who mentions the Irish a little time before the Christian æra, says expressly that they were Britons, who had derived their blood from the Gauls †; and Strabo, in the unfavourable account he gives of his cotemporaries of Ireland, gives no hint of the settlement of the Spaniards in that island ‡. Diodorus Siculus, Strabo,

The acrimony of Mela's § observations on the national character of the Irish is a strong argument against the Cantabric descent of that nation. Mela himself was a Spaniard, he had some interest in the Gallæci, and could not have been ignorant of the Cantabric war. Had he learned, and had any such event happened it must have come to his knowledge, that, after all the efforts of Augustus in person, or by his lieutenants, Pomponius Mela,

* Innes' Critical Essay, p. 509.

† *Ferocissimi Gallorum sunt, qui sub septentrionibus habitant; dicunt ex iis nonnullos Anthropophagos esse, sicut Britannos qui Irin tenent.* Diod. Sic. lib. v.

‡ Strabo, lib. iii.

§ Pomponius Mela, lib. iii.

Antistius, Furnius, Carisius, and Agrippa, the Cantabri collected a body of men, committed themselves to the ocean, and seized upon Ireland, from a natural partiality for his countrymen he would have treated the Irish with more decency and respect.

Tacitus,

Cornelius Tacitus wrote the life of Agricola before the conclusion of the first age. Agricola had formed a plan to reduce Ireland under the Roman yoke. The low idea that great commander entertained of the number and valor of the Irish is an unanswerable proof that the Cantabric descent of that nation is a mere fiction. Had any considerable body of those brave Spaniards, who fought against Augustus and his lieutenants, transmigrated into Ireland, Agricola could not suppose that a single legion was sufficient to subjugate and maintain the conquest of that island. It is idle, in short, to expect from Tacitus any support to Innes' Spanish system. The celebrated writer, from the best information *, affirms, that the British and Hibernians were men of much the same genius and manners, and from that

* Sæpe ex eo (*Agricolâ vel ipso Hiberno; nonnulli enim existimant C. Tacitum in Caledonia militasse*) audiui, legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse. Tacit. Vit. Agric. cap. 24. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica, unum ex regulis gentis (*Hibernicæ*) exceperat, ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. Tacit. Vit. Agric. cap. 24.

circumstance we may infer that the two nations derived their origin from one common source.

From the only favourable epithet bestowed by Solinus, ^{Solinus,} linus † on the Irish of the second or third age, Innes concludes that the Scots, a valiant body of foreigners, were settled among them before the time of that writer. It is difficult to comprehend why a mixture of foreign blood should be necessary to make the Irish a warlike people. If the situation of their country secured them from invasion, the civil dissensions arising from their being divided into a number of petty septs would have undoubtedly kindled and preserved a martial spirit among them. But if a colony from abroad was requisite to entitle the inhabitants of Ireland to the character of a brave race of men, it is more natural to suppose that some of the Britons of the South, or of the Caledonians of the North, settled among them, than emigrants from Cantabria. Tacitus says, and indeed it is common sense, that many Britons fled into Ireland from the tyranny of the Romans.

Ptolemy, who wrote under the Antonines, has not ^{Ptolemy,} once mentioned the Scots, though he is very minute

† Hibernia inhumana ritu incolarum aspera. Gens inhospita et bellicosa: fas et nefas eodem animo ducunt. Solin. cap. 36.

with regard to inferior tribes settled in Ireland. The geographer found in the lesser Britain the Brigantes, Vellabori, Cauci, and Menapii, but the redoubtable Scots of Cantabria totally escaped his notice. Camden, willing to humour the Irish in their pretensions to a Spanish extract, has observed that the Lucensii and Concani were neighbours in Spain, as the Luceni and Gongani were in Hibernia. If this is an argument, others of the same kind and of equal force may be produced to oppose it. The Cauci and Menapii were neighbours in Germany, and so were tribes of the same name, according to Ptolemy, in Ireland. Shall we then bring some Irish tribes from Cantabria, others from Germany, transport the Brigantes from South Britain, and totally exclude all emigrants from Caledonia, which is within a few leagues of the Irish shore? Camden's observation might have been extended further; the Iberians and Albanians were contiguous to one another in Asia; the Hibernians and Albanians possessed the British Isles, divided from one another by a very narrow channel; and ought we from that circumstance to infer, that the Caledonians and Irish came from the shores of the Caspian?

Orosius,

In the days of Orosius the Irish were distinguished by the name of Scottish clans. Orosius does not say from

from whence these Scottish tribes transmigrated into Ireland. Though a Spaniard himself, he has not mentioned, in treating of the Cantabric war, a circumstance that would have done honour to his country; that a great body of the Cantabri, rather than submit to Augustus, or to skulk in mountains and desarts, or throw in despair their lives away like many of their countrymen, committed themselves to the ocean, and acquired in Ireland better settlements than those for which they contended, with so much unavailing bravery against the Romans.

Florus is another writer of Spanish extraction. He Florus. was evidently partial to the Cantabri, but he does not even furnish an obscure hint that either of the two warlike nations who were engaged in the last Spanish war against the Romans, had, after their unsuccessful efforts to defend their liberty, found new settlements in the neighbouring ocean. The greatest part of the Cantabri, according to Florus, after being hard pressed both by sea and land, driven out of their fastnesses, hunted down like wild beasts, and, at last, inclosed within lines of circumvallation, rescued themselves from slavery by a voluntary death. A series of similar misfortunes pursued the Asturians; after having inclosed themselves within walls, they were taken by the armies of Rome, the whole nation were transplanted from

from their native mountains to the plain country, and an end for ever put to Spanish insurrections.

The Irish
not a Spa-
nish colony
proved
from their
language.

In the whole history of the Cantabrig war it is impossible to find a Spanish nation, hostile to the Romans, that were able to equip transports for a colony, escape the vigilance of the Roman navy, and numerous enough to conquer or people Ireland. In vain has Innes availed himself of a pretended analogy between the Biscayan dialect and the language of Ireland, to support his scheme of the Spanish extract of the Scots. That the most ancient inhabitants of Galicia were mixed with Celtæ is a point sufficiently established by the authority of many of the ancients* ; and therefore that they originally spoke in part the same language with the Gaël who first transmigrated into Britain, may, from the circumstance of the descent common to both nations, be inferred. The sterility of the mountains of Galicia would never invite new settlers whom the bra-

* Ephorus ingenti magnitudine facit Celticam; quod illi (scilicet Celtæ) pleraque ejus Terræ, quam nunc Iberiam vocamus, loca usque ad Gades tenuerint. Strabo, lib. iv. Galli occidua usque ad Gades incolunt secundum Eratosthenem. Strabo, lib. ii. Hi (Celtiberi) duo enim populi Iberes et Celtæ. Diod. Sic. lib. v. Martial, speaking to Lucius, of Spain their common country, says, Nos Celtis genitos. Martial Epig. Gallorum Celtæ miscentes nomen Iberis. Lucan. lib. vi. Venere Celtæ sociati nomen Iberis. Silius Ital. lib. iii. Vid. Appian. Hisp.

very of the old inhabitants could not repel. They consequently remained an unmixed people, and the simplicity of their manners preserved their language from corruption. A similar situation had a similar effect on the Scots of the British Isles. The north of Scotland received no colonies in any period that can be assigned; and the Irish remained, in a great measure, unmixed until the English conquest of their country. But notwithstanding circumstances common to the Cantabri and the Scots of both our isles, the language of the latter has less affinity with the modern Biscayan, than the English tongue has with that of the Moguls of the eastern Tartary *. It seems, from its genius and formation,

* That the language of the mountaineers of Galicia, and that part of Spain which stretches along the Bay of Biscay, bears a near analogy to the language of the old Irish, has been an axiom universally admitted. This has been the last resort, the unanswerable argument, to which all the Irish antiquaries have referred the certainty of the Spanish extraction of their nation. Unfortunately for the old Hibernian system, a dictionary of the Biscayan language is, at this moment, in the possession of the Author of the Introduction, and he publicly declares that there is less affinity between the Biscayan and Irish languages, than between the latter and the tongue of the most distant nations in the eastern Asia. The curious may satisfy themselves upon this head by consulting *Diccionario Trilingue del Castellano BASCUENCE y' Latin*, written by the *Padre Manuel de Larramendi*, and printed in 1745 at St. Sebastians. This discovery seems to confirm the opinion of Varro, who, as he is cited by Pliny, insinuates that the Iberians of Spain were of African origin. The language of the modern Biscayans, it is certain, bears no affinity to

formation, to be an African language, derived, with the people, from the opposite shores of Mauritania, in a period beyond the reach of history.

Scandinavian Extraction of the Irish confuted.

Pretended
Scandinavian descent
of the Irish
confuted.

If Innes had little reason to deduce the Scots from Spain, he had still less to derive them from any of the nations of Scandinavia. Neither he nor Stillingfleet were able, with all their erudition, to support a Scandinavian migration into Ireland, in the first age, by the authority of any cotemporary writer. One argument will perhaps be sufficient to destroy the credit of this part of the ingenious father's scheme. The language of the Scandinavians, being a branch of the Sarmatic, is *radically different* from the Hibernian and British Galic. It must be acknowledged that the ancients sometimes distinguished the Germans, as well as those nations who inhabited beyond the Baltic, by the name of Scythians. But it is extremely puerile to infer, from the

to the other European tongues, which are radically descended from the ancient Celtic. The name of Iberians given to them in contradistinction to the Celtæ is a proof of their being a different people. Lucan seems to insinuate this fact in a line already quoted; Gallorum Celtæ *miscentes* nomen Iberis; and the Venere Celtæ *sociati* nomen Iberis of Silius Italicus, together with the express testimony of Diodorus Siculus and Appian, confirms the opinion.

remote

remote analogy between the name of Scythians and Scots, that the latter nation derived their blood either from the Germans or old Scandinavians. The Danes, for a similar reason, might deduce themselves from the Danaï of Greece; and the Caledonians of North Britain trace themselves to those of the same name in Ætolia; and claim kindred with Diomed, so much celebrated in the Iliad of Homer.

Innes endeavours to support this branch of his system with other arguments. “The Romans, says the ingenious writer, after the conquest of Gaul found means to confine the Germans within their own territories. Being overstocked with numbers at home, they were obliged to put to sea, and try their fortune beyond the pale of the empire. The Germans, touching on the opposite shore of North Britain, were probably repulsed by the bravery of the Caledonians, upon which they steered their course to Ireland and made a conquest of that country.”

Innes' visionary argument

The legions of Rome it is certain frustrated, for some time, the attempts which the Germans made to extend themselves towards the South. In the reign of Augustus they crossed the Rhine without success, and in that of Vespasian they aided, to no purpose, the rebellion

from the population of Germany

T

bellion

bellion of Claudius Civilis. When Domitian held the reins of government at Rome the Germans attempted the conquest of Gaul, and they gave much trouble to many of his successors in the imperial dignity. The Romans, says Cornelius Tacitus*, rather triumphed over, than subdued, the Germans; the victories which the imperial armies gained in their country being attended with more glory than any solid advantage. To prevent the incursions of enemies so formidable, the Romans had recourse to political expedients to weaken their power at home. Both Augustus and Tiberius concluded treaties with the Suevi and Sicambri, and transplanted them into the fertile provinces of Gaul.

confuted.

It does not appear that Germany was overstocked with numbers, after the Roman legions had excluded their migrating armies from Gaul. In the attempts of the Germans upon that country, in the reign of Augustus, they lost a great number of their bravest soldiers; and the expeditions of Drusus depopulated whole districts of their country. Tiberius was not less successful in Germany than his brother Drusus, nor his many victories less destructive to the inhabitants of that country†.

* Proximis temporibus triumphati magis quam victi. Tacit. de Mor. Germ. cap. 37.

† Velleius Paterculus, lib. iv.

After

After his accession to the imperial dignity, his nephew Germanicus, with eight legions supported by auxiliaries, ravaged all that tract of country, which lies between the Rhine and the Elbe, and made a general massacre of the whole nation of the Marfi. Germany, we have already observed, during that fatal period, was involved in civil wars. The ill-timed animosities between Arminius and Segestes, the ravages of Maroboduus, and the invasion of the Romans, made it a scene of unparalleled miseries. It is therefore certain that Germany, in the first century, was more depopulated, than it was in any former or after period, if we except the time in which the Franks, Allemans, and Lombards, evacuated their territories to settle themselves in more fertile countries.

It must be confessed, that several tribes in the North-East angle of Scotland have preserved in their traditions, and the genealogical histories of their families, pretensions to a German origin. The Clancattin, or the tribe of *Catti*, consisting of a great variety of branches, mentioned in a note in one of the preceding sections, affirm, with one consent, that the famous Catti of ancient Germany were their ancestors. This opinion has been already mentioned with a degree of precision, and may have some foundation in fact. But the migration must have happened when a part of the Catti settled in the islands

Supposed
transmigration
of the
Catti.

at the mouths of the Rhine; a considerable space of time before the ravages of the Julian family in the regions of Germany. It is even far from being unlikely that some Celto-Germanic tribes transmigrated, at different times, into that part of Britain which was not subject to the Romans; but it is morally impossible that a migration, sufficient to people Caledonia and Ireland, could have happened, without falling within the knowledge of the writers of Rome, who certainly extended their enquiries to the transactions of the wild nations on the frontiers of the empire.

The Irish
descended
of the Bri-
tish Gaël.

It appears, upon the whole, that no colonies came to Ireland either from Spain or from the North of Europe, between the commencement of the Christian æra, and the close of the third century, when the Scots are mentioned by Porphyrius for the first time. That the Scots came from either of those countries by a long voyage to Ireland, prior to the first century, is sufficiently contradicted by the known barbarism of the old Hibernians, as well as of all other nations whom an intercourse with the Romans had not humanized. We must have recourse, in the last resort, to the Caledonian Britons for the genuine origin of the Irish. Their name of Gaël, their language, the conformity of their manners and customs with those of the old Britons, all con-

cur

cur in proving, beyond any possibility of reply, that the Irish are the posterity of the GAËL, who, after having traversed the island of Great Britain, passed over, in a very early period, into Ireland from the promontories of Galloway and Cantire.

IRISH EXTRACTION OF THE SOCTS
EXAMINED.*General Reflections.*General ob-
servation.

NATIONS find it difficult to divest themselves of a partiality for systems of antiquity, which, to the sanction of ages, have added the authority of learned men. The Scots of both the British Isles were formerly peculiarly attached to the absurd tales, with which their bards had covered their origin. Many still retain the unmanly credulity, which has been the reproach of their ancestors, and think it a kind of sacrilege to disperse the gloom, which involves the commencements of their history. The Author of the Introduction writes not for these; he has taken up arms against fiction and romance, and he will not lay them down till the whole are subdued. In destroying the fantastic fables, which deform the obscurity of our ancient history, he may perhaps bury whole ages in darkness; but oblivion itself is better than inauthentic fame. The credit of the Milesian tale is, in a great measure, already destroyed, and it perhaps may appear to many, superfluous to refute the pretended Hibernian extraction of the Scots. Both
stories

stories depend upon the same authority, and they must both fall by the same argument. But to close for ever a contest, which, though not material in itself, has employed the pens of many learned men, and attracted the attention of nations, we must discuss the point at more length than its importance deserves.

It has already appeared that nothing certain is known concerning the affairs of Ireland prior to the mission of St. Patrick *. The history of Caledonia, before the Roman eagles were displayed beyond the friths, must for ever remain in impenetrable darkness. Both countries were peopled many ages before the reign of Domitian, but how they were governed, or by what petty chieftains or kings, a Scottish or Irish Berofus can only tell. Had a hundred Hibernian colonies, with a royal Milesian at the head of each, transmigrated into North Britain before the Roman arms penetrated into Caledonia, they must, without a revelation from heaven, remain involved in eternal oblivion. It is as ridiculous to assert, as it would be downright anility to believe, that

Nothing known of the Irish before St. Patrick.

* Perexiguam superesse notitiam rerum in Hibernia gestarum, ante exortam ibi Evangelii Auroram, liquido constat. War. de Antiq. Hib. Ad predecessores Leogarii (*ille enim solum Hibernicum sub adventum Patri- cii tenuit*) quod attinet, eos certe consilio omisi, quia pleraque quæ de iis traduntur, ut quod sentio dicam, vel fabulæ sunt, vel fabulis et ana- chronismis mire admixta. War. de Antiq. c. iv.

Caledonia received an Irish colony before Tacitus wrote the life of Agricola. To prove that no Irish colony transmigrated into Britain in or after the reign of Domitian, it is proper to review what the Romans have communicated concerning the state of Caledonia from that period to the appearance of the Scots on the frontiers of the province.

The Scots not of Irish Extract.

No Irish migration happened in the first century:

Julius Agricola employed his fourth campaign in securing the acquisitions which he had made to the South of the Forth and Clyde; and could the bravery of his troops, and the glory of the Roman name, permit it, that able commander, says Tacitus, might find in those friths a proper boundary for his conquests in Britain *. Agricola, in the fifth year of his expeditions, shipping his army in the Clyde, attacked nations till then unknown, in that part of Caledonia which lies over against Ireland. After several successful engagements he stationed some of his troops there to be in readiness for an Irish expedition †.

* Ac si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. Tacit. Vit. Agric. xxiii.

† Eamque partem Britanniae quæ Hiberniam aspicit, copiis intravit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem. Tacit. Vit. Agric. xxiv.

The counties of Dumbarton and Argyle were the theatre of war in Agricola's fifth campaign. The inhabitants were so numerous, that, for a whole summer, they gave ample employment to the Roman army; and that, at a time, when, by the testimony of Agricola himself *, a single legion was sufficient not only to subdue, but also to secure the conquest of Ireland. This is a sufficient proof, that the Caledonians were long settled in the country. In a state of society, in which the necessaries of life do not abound, time only can create a nation. The fable of Cadmus is, in some measure, founded in fact: nations rise suddenly from the furrow behind the plough; but their growth is slow behind the shafts of the hunter.

In vain will it be objected that the Roman commander might have been mistaken in his calculation of the internal strength of Ireland. He had in his camp an Irish prince who was no stranger to the state of his own country. Should it be supposed that this exile, from a desire of inducing Agricola to undertake an expedition, which might re-establish himself in his dominions, gave a false account of Ireland, the Roman was too prudent to rely altogether on the intelligence of

* Sæpe ex eo audivi, legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari, obtinerique Hiberniam posse. Tacit. Vit. Agric. xxiv.

the Hibernian fugitive. The ports of Ireland were, in those times, better known than those of Britain; and Agricola must have consulted those who traded into that country concerning the force of an island which he intended to invade*.

Third argument.

We may therefore conclude that Agricola formed, upon good intelligence, a just idea of the state of Ireland, and consequently that it was very thinly peopled, or that the military character of its inhabitants, on account of their extreme barbarism, was very low. In either of these situations it is not in any degree probable, that the Irish, in the days of Domitian, would have made any attempts to settle in Caledonia; it is not probable, that in any former period they were civilized sufficiently to establish a foreign colony, and that too in a worse country than their own; which could so soon eclipse its mother nation in valour and power. America will not, for some centuries, vie in either with Great Britain: the inhabitants of Alba fell always short of the people of Rome. It is not probable that those whom one legion was sufficient to subdue at home, could make conquests abroad, among a people who employed the whole force of the Roman army.

* Tacit. Vit. Agric. xxiv.

It is difficult to ascertain with exactness the number of the troops of Agricola in his Caledonian expedition. Fourth argument. Josephus says that there were four legions stationed in Britain in the days of Domitian. We learn from Tacitus, that Agricola, at one period of the Caledonian war, divided his army into three bodies. The enemy attacked one of those divisions consisting of the ninth legion, which, according to the established maxim of the Romans, must have been supported by a proportionable number of auxiliaries. Upon the whole we may conclude, that the two counties of Argyle and Dumbarton opposed, for a campaign, thrice the number of troops, that, according to Agricola's opinion, was sufficient to conquer the whole kingdom of Ireland. Were the Irish the mother nation?

Had there been in the time of Agricola an Hibernian colony settled in the western Caledonia, who had resolution and numbers sufficient to oppose that great man, it is impossible that their mother country could have been represented by him in so despicable a light. Fifth argument. Neither is it probable that Tacitus, in his short account of the Irish nation, where he observes that their genius and manners did not differ materially from the Britons*, would have omitted to say that the western

* *Ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt.*
Tacit. Vit. Agric. xxiv.

Caledonians derived their blood from Ireland, had that actually been the case; the Hibernian chieftain would certainly have informed him better. The celebrated writer, on the contrary, gave it as his opinion, that the Caledonians, in the most extensive sense of that name, and consequently the inhabitants of Argyle and Dumbarton, were of German extract*.

Irish fables
on the sub-
ject

The Irish, upon the authority of those annals whose credit has been already destroyed, affirm that their ancestors, in the days of Agricola, as well as in subsequent periods, were the life and strength of the Caledonian armies†. It will, perhaps, be thought unnecessary to confute these unauthorized assertions, after what has been already said concerning the faith due to Irish history before the time of St. Patrick. But to give every advantage to the zealous abettors of the old system, we shall examine this tale, without insisting on the impossibility that even tradition could extend to Ireland in the first century.

improbable;

Crimothan the first, it would appear, held the reins of government in Ireland when Agricola carried the

* Caledoniam habitantium rutilæ comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem asseverant. Tacit. Vit. Agric. xi.

† O'Flaherty in Ogygia.

Roman arms into Caledonia. This monarch transported an army into North Britain, aided the Caledonians against the Romans, and after the departure of Agricola returned to Ireland laden with spoils and foreign trophies. Tacitus was extremely unjust to the happy valour of Crimothan against the Romans. The illustrious Crimothan, the supreme king of Ireland, was, it seems, inferior in command, in birth and valour, to the chieftain who was at the head of the Caledonian confederacy. Tacitus expressly affirms, that Galgacus was superior, in those respects, to all the leaders of that army which fought Agricola near the Grampian mountains*.

Is it not somewhat strange, that Galgacus has totally impossible neglected to mention his ally Crimothan, and his Hibernian forces, in that excellent speech with which he animated the Caledonian army†? And why did not Tacitus place the provocation given by Crimothan among those reasons which Agricola assigned for his intended expedition into Ireland? The celebrated writer, the truth is, knew nothing of Crimothan or his troops; and therefore we may conclude, that the re-

* Inter plures duces genere et virtute præstans. Tacit. Vit. Agric. xxix.

† Tacit. Vit. Agric. xxx.

doubtable monarch, if he ever existed, never crossed the Irish channel. It is upon the whole demonstrable, that no part of Caledonia was possessed by an Hibernian colony in the days of Agricola; and that the story of the pretended auxiliaries from Ireland is absolute fiction.

The Caledonians suffered little from Agricola.

The losses sustained by the Caledonians during the expedition of Agricola were, perhaps, much exaggerated by Tacitus. But had they suffered even more than the historian affirms, they had time to recover their former strength during the long tranquillity which succeeded the departure of Agricola, and continued to the reign of Hadrian. The incursions of the Caledonians rendered it necessary for that emperor to come in person into Britain; but that the Barbarians suffered very little loss by his arms we may naturally infer, from his relinquishing to them all that tract of country which extends from the Tine and Solway to the Scottish friths*.

Formidable in the reign of Pius.

Lollius Urbicus, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, defeated the Caledonians; and, driving them beyond the Forth and Clyde, excluded them by an earthen wall

* Murum per octingenta millia passuum primus duxit, qui Barbaros Romanosque divideret. Spartian. in Hadriano, xi.

from

from the Roman Britain *. Though repelled by Urbicus, and afterwards by Ulpus Marcellus, in the time of Commodus, they were far from being reduced so low as to yield a part of their territories to the Romans, much less to a band of Hibernian adventurers. Before they were chastised by Marcellus, they had committed † dreadful devastations in the province, and cut off a Roman general with the greatest part of his army. When Severus assumed the purple, they harassed the northern provincials with such cruelty, and so little intermission, that Virius Lupus was driven to the shameful necessity of purchasing a peace from them with money ‡.

Some years after this ignominious treaty was patched up, the Roman lieutenant in Britain acquainted Severus Expedition
of Severus that the northern Barbarians were every where in motion; that they overran, plundered, and laid waste the province, and that therefore a powerful reinforce-

* Britannos per Lollium Urbicum Legatum vicit, alio muro cespitio submotis Barbaris ducto. Capitolin. in Antonin. v.

† Καὶ πολλὰ κακουργουτῶν, ἑξαίτηγον τε τινα μετὰ τῶν ἑξαίτηγων οὓς εἶχε καλακοψάντων, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Κομοδος Μάρκελλον Ὀυλπίον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπεμψε. Dion. Cass. lib. lxxii.

‡ Ὁ Λουπος μεγάλων, χρημάτων τὴν εἰρηνὴν παρὰ τῶν Μαυριῶν ἐκπριᾶσθαι. Dion. Cass. lib. lxxv.

ment,

ment, or the presence of the emperor himself, was indispensably necessary *. Severus, desirous of adding to the laurels he had acquired in the East and North, embraced, with pleasure, an opportunity so favourable to his ambition. Though oppressed with the gout and the weight of years, he undertook immediately an expedition into Britain; and, arriving with a great army, made preparations for a vigorous and decisive campaign. The Barbarians were alarmed, sent an embassy to excuse their conduct, and to offer overtures of peace. Severus for some time amused the ambassadors, and when every thing was prepared, marched northward, with a fixed resolution to exterminate the whole nation of the Caledonians.

attended
with no
success.

But the flattering hopes of Severus vanished into air, after the most vigorous exertions of courage, conduct, and force; after sustaining incredible fatigues with amazing patience, and the loss of fifty thousand men, he was at last reduced to the old and inglorious expedient of building a wall to exclude from the province those Barbarians whom he could neither extirpate or

* Επισέλλει ὁ τῆς Βρεττανίας ἡγούμενος σασιαζειντοῦς ἐκεῖ Βαρβαροῦς Φασκων, καὶ κατὰ τρέχοντας τὴν χώραν, λείαν τε ἀπαγαγεῖν, καὶ πορθεῖν τὰ πλεῖστα δεῖσθαι τοίνην χειρὸς πλείονος, πρὸς Βοήθειαν τοῦ τοποῦ ἢ Βασιλικῆς ἐπιδημίας. Herodian. lib. iii.

subdue †. We may therefore infer, from this circumstance, that the Caledonians, after all the toil and military efforts of Severus, so far from being annihilated, or even much weakened or humbled, continued a very formidable enemy.

Some Irish annalists affirm, that the Picts, from the commencement of their history, through a long series of ages, were tributary to the Milesian Scots of Ireland. It is observable, that the pretended records from which the incredible tale is extracted, make no mention of the Caledonian name, which circumstance is very unfavourable to the credit of the annals of Ireland. The inhabitants of North Britain ceased to be distinguished by the name of Caledonians about the close of the fourth age; so that the Milesian system must have been fabricated in a period so modern as to place the fourth century beyond the reach of tradition. But, by whatever name the northern Britons were distinguished, it is reasonable to suppose that the monarch of Ireland would have sent auxiliaries to his distressed vassals when Severus threatened the whole nation with extirpation. Herodian and Dion Cassius were then very unjust to his Hibernian majesty, for

Milesian
fictions.

† Ἐς Φιλίαν επανῆλθεν, ἐς ὁμολογίαν τοὺς Βρεττανούς ἐπὶ τῷ χώρᾳ οὐκ ὀλίγης ἐκστῆναι, ἀναγκάσας εἰσεῖν. Dion. Cass. lib. lxxvi.

neither he or his forces are once mentioned in the minute account given by those historians of the Caledonian war. The Roman writers with one consent seem to have entered into a conspiracy against the military fame of the royal line of Heremon. In vain did Crimothan discomfit legions in Britain; in vain did the redoubtable Nial carry his victorious arms to the banks of the Loire; it was to no purpose that Dathy*, whom heaven alone could subdue, penetrated to the foot of the Alps; foreign writers, with a scandalous partiality, not only concealed the exploits, but even the very names of those heroes.

State of
Caledonia
from Seve-
rus to the
appearance
of the Scots.

In the long period which intervened between the accession of the sons of Severus to the imperial dignity, and the middle of the fourth age, the Caledonians were not once attacked within their own territories by the Roman armies. The exploits of Carausius are mere fiction, and the feats of Constantine and his father Chlorus in Caledonia existed only in the rants of ecclesiastical panegyrist. The frequent contests for

* Dathy was an Irish prince, who, according to the Hibernian Senachies, penetrated with an army to the Alps, and was killed by a flash of lightning at the foot of those mountains. Dathy, though placed beyond Christianity in Ireland, derives his name from David the son of Jesse, which of itself proves that the exploits of Dathy were of the *figmenta posteriorum seculorum* of Ware.

the purple, between men sometimes called emperors and sometimes tyrants and usurpers, in proportion as they were near or far distant from the capital; the public distractions which arose naturally from these disputes, the growing imbecillity of the empire, and the invasions of the Barbarians of the northern Europe, diverted the attention of the Romans from Caledonia. In a period so long, and of such tranquillity, the inhabitants of North Britain, instead of declining, must have greatly multiplied their numbers. In the tenth consulship of Constantius, the son of Constantine, we meet with the Scots, a formidable nation in Britain. Ammianus Marcellinus, who found them first in the island, does not furnish one obscure hint that they derived their blood from a foreign country. The historian, on the contrary, gives to them and to the Picts the character of wild nations, plainly in opposition to those Britons whom the Romans had subdued and humanized *.

* *Consulatu vero Constantii decies, terque Juliani, in Britanniiis cum Scotorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursus, &c. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xx.*

Proved from various Arguments.

First argument.

Bede is the first writer who positively affirms, that the Scots of Britain derived their origin from those of Ireland. Whether they originally obtained from the Picts the principality of Iar gaël or Argyle by force or treaty, was a point which all his historical and traditional knowledge did not enable the venerable Anglo-Saxon to determine. The incapacity of Bede, who lived so near the pretended transmigration of the Irish, to solve this difficulty, is a kind of demonstration that the whole story is a fiction, imposed upon that credulous, though pious writer. If the migration was farther back, it must be placed in too ancient a period, to send down any information of itself, through a length of illiterate time. The good man might as well have placed the transmigration at the general deluge, as at any period before the arrival of the Romans. The impenetrable darkness which covered Caledonia, before the times of Agricola, cannot be penetrated without the divine gift of prescience; an advantage to which the excellent monk of Girwy never laid any claim.

Second argument.

If the Picts were so feeble that a band of Irish adventurers could tear from them one third of their dominions,

dominions, how came they so frequently to provoke the Roman legions, and harass the provincials from the time of Chlorus to the total dereliction of Britain by Honorius? To invade the territories of a warlike and disciplined people, when they suffered a great part of their own to be wrested from them by a despicable enemy, is a folly too absurd to gain any credit. But perhaps the Picts gave the district of Argyle to their allies of Ireland, in consideration of services against the Romans. These services were extremely unnecessary; for the Romans, till provoked by incursions, were very inoffensive towards the Barbarians beyond the walls. Nations, in short, have been known to receive foreigners into the bosom of their country to repel invasions, but it is ridiculous to think that any people would have recourse to so dangerous an expedient for the pleasure of harassing neighbours who did not in any degree offend them.

It is difficult for the unprejudiced part of mankind ^{Third argument,} to believe, that a colony, sufficient to occupy the western Highlands and Isles, could have wasted themselves, their wives, and children, at once, from Ireland into the northern Britain, in *Curraghs* or miserable skiffs, whose hulls of wicker were wrapped up in a cow's hide. In these wretched vessels, it is true, an irregular communication was kept up between both the islands; but

but the navigation was dangerous, and performed only in the fairest days of summer *. The fertility of the soil of Iar-ghaël could never be an inducement to an Irish migration into that division of Caledonia. If poverty, or their being overstocked with numbers, compelled the inhabitants of the pretended Dalrietta, or the *Route* in the county of Antrim, to go in quest of foreign settlements, they ought in common prudence to have tried their fortune in the southern division of their own country, and not in the sterile mountains of the western Caledonia. We learn, or at least we may infer, from Tacitus, that there must have been sufficient room for adventurers in some corner or other of Ireland; else how could one legion subdue and retain the island?

Fourth argument.

The Irish must have been wonderfully improved in military knowledge from the days of Agricola, if it was more difficult in the fourth century to extort part of their dominions from them, than from the Caledonians, who had better opportunities to be enured to arms. Turgesius and his Norwegians did not find, in an after age, that the Irish were so obstinately tenacious of their fertile lands, as the posterity of the Picts were of their own barren country, when repeatedly attacked by all the efforts

* Mare quod Britanniam et Hiberniam interluit undosum et inquietum, toto in anno non nisi æstivis pauculis diebus est navigabile. Navigant autem viminiis alveis quos circumdant ambitione tergorum bubulinorum. Solin. xxxv.

of Scandinavia. Strongbow and his few archers did not find them so obstinate. The divisions which then subsisted in their country, were rather the inseparable consequence of their mode of government, than the produce of any particular period of time. Anarchy always prevailed; and Dermot was not the first prince who was expelled by it from his throne. Tribe was perpetually armed against tribe; sept against sept. Injustice and murder filled many provinces; tumult spread over all. Confusion, if the personification may be used, was ever the supreme king of Ireland; and neither the O'Niels nor the O'Connors. This, however, proceeded as much from the wretched form of their government, as from their barbarism. In the article of civilization, they differed not materially from their neighbours on the opposite shores of Caledonia.

Should it be supposed that a band of adventurers were expelled from Ulster by the pressure of the southern Irish, it is difficult to account how the Picts of Britain should receive the fugitives. Either generosity or selfishness would have prompted them, like the Earl of Pembroke, to assist the exiles in recovering their territories; and, by that means, to endeavour to conquer a part of a fine country for themselves. But the Picts were, it seems, strangers to the most common maxims of policy; for, according to the system under
Fifth argument.
I.
consideration,

consideration, they must have been of all nations the most tame, prodigal, and imprudent. In short, if the Irish Scots voluntarily abandoned one of the best districts of Ireland to settle in one of the most sterile divisions of North Britain, they must have been more absurd than the Hibernians of latter ages have been, perhaps very unjustly, represented; if by violence they were driven from home, the Picts deserve the same character for permitting a band of vagabonds to seize upon one third of their dominions.

Sixth argument.

The Saxon auxiliaries of Vortigern were not so modest as the Irish Scots; or else the Picts were a people of much less spirit than the southern Britons. When the Saxons raised their demands to an unreasonable height, the Britons disputed with them every inch of ground. They were at last overpowered; but it was after such an expence of time and blood, that glory covered them in the midst of ruin. Had the Hibernian mercenaries encroached upon the Picts, as the Saxons did on the Britons, we might naturally suppose that the latter, instead of carrying war and desolation into a foreign country, in conjunction with the Scots, would have found employment for their arms at home. The unanimity in expedition which subsisted for ages between the Caledonian nations, is proof sufficient that they

they derived their origin from one and the same source. These arguments, derived from reason, are sufficient to overturn facts, which rest on no authority. Neither the British nor the Irish Scots had so early the means of sending down any account of themselves through time: and Bede appears to have been as great a stranger to their origin, as he was to that of his nearest neighbours the Britons. Concerning the former, he could possess no authentic document: the Romans could have informed him better concerning the latter. The origin of nations was neither his object nor his province. Possessed of a genius beyond the level of his own times, he rose not entirely above the haziness which covered the age.

Y

THE

THE PRETENDED TESTIMONY OF
FOREIGN WRITERS EXAMINED,
AND CONFUTED.

General Reflections.

First appear-
ance of the
Scots.

ABOUT the middle of the fourth age, the unconquered barbarians of Caledonia became known to the Romans under the name of Picts and Scots. Marcellinus, who is the first historian who met them in Britain, was an absolute stranger to their being a new people, who then made their appearance in the island *. In the period of time between the expedition of Julius Agricola and the reign of Constantius we have already seen, that the improbability of the transmigration of a foreign colony into North Britain is so great, that, without positive evidence, the story can never be believed. The abettors of the Hibernian antiquities, finding that the credit of the domestic annals of Ireland could never establish this fact, had recourse to some passages of foreign writers,

* Amm. Marcell. lib. xx. The very learned and ingenious Dr. Macpherson has, in his critical dissertation on the British and Irish Scots, proved against the Bishop of St. Asaph, that Ammianus Marcellinus does not furnish even an obscure hint, that the Scots were a new people in Britain, in the reign of Constantius.

which they seized with rapture; and magnified, through their zeal, into positive proofs of the truth of their own idle tales.

The impossibility of an Irish migration into North Britain between the reign of Constantius and the dereliction of Britain by Honorius, is supported by arguments equally strong with those we have produced for the period before the first of those emperors. Those who after Constantius succeeded to the imperial purple, till the days of Valentinian, were rather insulted than feared by the wild nations of Caledonia. The latter, therefore, were under no necessity to implore the assistance of foreign auxiliaries; neither can we suppose that they would cede to a pitiful band of Irish barbarians any part of those territories, which they defended, with so much spirit, against the disciplined armies of the lords of the world.

Claudian.

Antiquaries, who have added, to their total ignorance of the Gaëlic language, that incorrigible dogmatism which too often attends literature, when it is not accompanied with enlarged sentiments of mind, have triumphed much in the pretended authority of

Antiquaries

Claudian, against the Caledonian extract of that odious race of men, the Scots. Blinded by their prejudices, or wrapt in a cloud of ignorance, which their pride forbids them to dispel, they affect to disregard the proofs which are brought by the very natives of the North of Scotland, that the numerous islands which crowd the western shores of their country, have, from all antiquity, obtained the name IARIN; which, to say the least in favour of that circumstance, may have been the origin of the IERNE of Claudian. They either forget, or they designedly disregard the testimony of the natives, that the country along the western shores of Caledonia was anciently distinguished by the name of Ierne, though a tract of it, much more extensive than some counties in England, still bears the same name.

reproved,

Hovering over a parcel of old books, their distempered imaginations form visionary systems of antiquity; and they move heaven and earth to support their airy fabrics, with pretended authorities from the ancients. Reason they think a feeble foe; and argument is a weapon that makes no impression on their self-sufficiency. The unprejudiced part of mankind will not, however, be swayed by their folly. They will believe, as soon, that a wandering Jesuit is a better judge of the antiquities

quities of China, than the natives of that country ; as, that a cloistered academic in England knows more of the language and antiquities of Scotland, than a native, who has made both his particular study. But not to wander from the subject ; Claudian, in his panegyric on Theodosius, has the following lines :

Quid rigor æternus cœli ; quid sidera profunt,
 Ignotumque fretum ? Maduerunt Saxone fuso
 Orcades : incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule :
 Scottorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne*.

Had even Claudian meant Ireland, by his Ierne, a Claudian, a supposition highly problematical, we may venture to affirm, that there is nothing in this passage conclusive in favour of the old Milesian tale. Claudian indulged all the wantonness of a poetical fancy in this panegyric on Theodosius. It was the poet's imagination only that "warmed Thule with Pictish blood, moistened the sands of Orkney with Saxon gore, and thawed the frozen Ierne into tears for the slaughter of the Scots." It is idle, in short, to search for fact in the hyperboles of poetry ; Marcellinus, though particularly fond of Theodosius, has not recorded these prodigies of valour : Even Latinus Pacatius, though a panegyrist, says no more, than that the Scot was driven back to his native

* Claudian. de quart. consulat. Honorii.

fens *, and the Saxon destroyed in conflicts at sea. The description which Pacatius gives of the country of those Scots whom Theodosius defeated, is extremely applicable to the vast morasses and numerous lakes of the northern Caledonia. It is evident, that Pacatius was a stranger to their being a transmarine race of men ; otherwise it is not probable he would have mentioned their fens, before the sea, which they had to pass in their flight : besides, the fens of Caledonia were well known, by fatal experience, to the Romans, from the expedition of the emperor Severus †.

examined,

Without insisting upon what shall hereafter appear at least probable, that Ireland is not meant by the Ierne of Claudian, we may aver, that there is nothing in these verses decisive concerning the origin of the Scots. If the Hibernians were of Caledonian extract ; if, from the ancient ties of consanguinity, a friendly intercourse was maintained between the Irish and the inhabitants of Albany ; a person of a less warm imagination than Claudian might suppose that the former sincerely lamented the misfortunes of their mother nation. But this is an observation of little consequence ; Claudian, it is more

* Redactum in paludes suas Scottum. Latin. Pacat. in Panegy. Theod.

† Vide Dio. Cass. passim.

than probable, knew nothing of the genealogy either of the Irish or Scots. He had nothing to do with the first; as they never opposed his hero in the field. Should it even be admitted that the Scots of Valentinian's time were skilled in maritime affairs, and had passed from Ireland into North Britain, they ought, after Theodosius had chased them to their vessels, to have directed their flight to their native island. On the contrary, Claudian's hero, or rather Claudian himself, pursues them sword in hand, into the Hyperborean ocean.

SCOTTUMQUE, vago mucrone, secutus
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus Undas.

This furnishes a positive proof that the Scots mentioned by Claudian were the inhabitants of Caledonia.

In Claudian's panegyric on Stilicho, there is a passage weighed, which has been often transcribed with triumph in opposition to the antiquity of the British Scots.

Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus inquit,
Munivit Stilicho, totam cum Scottus IERNAM
Movit; et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.
Illius affectum curis, ne bella timerem
SCOTTICA, nec Pictum tremere, nec litore toto
Prospicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis.

Britain is here personified; she makes her acknowledgements to Stilicho for his services to her at a very perilous conjuncture.

conjuncture. “ She owed her safety to that able commander when the Scot had put all IERNA in motion; when the ocean was agitated into a foam by hostile oars. He delivered her from the terrors of a Scottish war, from Pictish incursions, and from beholding piratical squadrons of Saxons coming to her coasts with the veering winds.”

and con-
futed.

It will be hereafter shewn that the name of Ierna may, without any violence, be applied to the western division of Scotland, including the isles: But should the Ierna of Claudian be the same with Ireland, a circumstance by no means probable, it would little avail the abettors of that system which we now oppose. There is no necessity to believe that the poet adhered to historical fact. Virgil, without any authority, extended the victories of Augustus to nations, whom neither he nor his lieutenants ever looked in the face*; and why should not the

* Incedunt victi longo ordine gentes.

Hic Nomadum genus et distinctos Mulciber Afros:

Hic Lelegas, Carasque, sagittiferosque Gelonos

Finxerat. Euphrates ibat jam mollior undis;

Indomitique Dahæ.

Virg. Æneid. viii.

Super Garamantas et Indos

Proferet imperium, jacet extra sidera, tellus

Extra anni solisque vias.—

Hujus in adventum jam nunc et Caspia regna

Responsis horrent Divûm et Mæotia tellus.

Virg. Æneid. vi.

same

same privilege of invention, exaggeration, and flattery be allowed to the laureat of Honorius?

Not to insist upon the improbability that the Irish in that state of barbarism in which they were certainly involved towards the close of the fourth age, could annually transport armies into Britain, we may safely affirm, that the Tethys of Claudian was rather agitated into a foam by Saxon than by Hibernian oars; indeed the construction of the sentence seems to require this supposition. The Saxons, in the days of Honorius, were in some measure a sea-faring people: Tethys signifies the ocean; the sea between Germany and England has some right to that title, but the channel between Ireland and Caledonia was never dignified with so high a name. Ptolemy, who has been cited against this circumstance, knew not even the position of Caledonia. This criticism is sufficient to destroy the whole force of the argument drawn from Claudian. It appears not from history that the Scots ever infested the Roman division of Britain by sea: Constantine appointed an officer called *Comes littoris Saxonici*, to take the charge of that part of the coast of the Province, which was most exposed to the piratical depredations of the Saxons; but of a *Comes littoris Scottici* or *Hibernici* we have never heard.

A critical
remark.

Conclusive
arguments.

If the province of Valentia comprehended the country between the walls, why did not the Hibernian Scots land every other season in Galloway? How came not the Irish rovers to attempt a descent in either of the divisions of Wales or in Cumberland? Was not the coast of Lancashire almost as near to the Isle of Man, which, according to Orosius, was possessed by Scottish tribes, as any part of the continent of Caledonia was to Ireland? Why, in the name of wonder, was a bulwark of turf or stone a better security against the Irish Scots than against the Saxons of Friezeland or Holland, as both were transmarine nations with respect to the Province? Why did the Irish, with a peculiar absurdity, land always on the wrong side of the Roman walls, which they must have scaled or destroyed before they could penetrate into the province? It is impossible to believe that all their expeditions could have been so ill-concerted; and this consideration alone is sufficient to demonstrate that the Scots, whom the Roman writers so often mentioned, were inhabitants of Caledonia. Walls were constructed and legions employed to defend the province from their incursions, but fleets were never fitted out to intercept or destroy them at sea.

Orosius.

Orosius.——Isidorus.

The Hibernian system being deprived of every support ^{Orosius,} from Claudian, let us next examine some passages of other ancient authors whom our adversaries have raised to their aid. If Orosius, a Spanish priest, found the Scots in Ireland about the beginning of the fifth age, Marcellinus met with them in Britain about the middle of the third *. If a priority in the name is an argument, it falls with its weight in the scale of the superior antiquity of the British Scots. Isidore of Seville, who ^{Isidorus,} flourished in the seventh age, says, that in his time, Ireland was indiscriminately called Scottia and Hibernia; and that the latter name proceeded from its lying over against Iberia and the Cantabric ocean †: A ridiculous supposition, which deserves to be exposed.

On this etymon of Hibernia great weight is laid by the ^{examined,} abettors of the Cantabric descent of the Irish. Should the name of Hibernia arise from the position of Ireland

* Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xx.

† Scottia eadem et Hibernia, proxima Britanniae insula, sed situ fecundior. Hæc ab Africo in Boream porrigitur, cujus partes priores Iberiam et Cantabricum Oceanum intendunt; unde et Ibernica dicta: Scottia autem quod ab Scottorum gentibus colitur. Isidor. Orig. lib. xiv.

with respect to Iberia, Mauritania, and a part of Gaul ought to have obtained the same appellation, from a similar situation with regard to Spain. Ireland itself, from a parity of reason, ought to have a name resembling that of Britain, which lies so near it, rather than from Iberia, divided from it by an immense ocean. The bishop of Seville, the truth is, knew very little about Ireland or its inhabitants; and his ridiculous derivation of the name of Scots, is a lasting monument of his talent in etymology*.

and con-
futed.

Isidore is not the first learned prelate who gave to Ireland the name of Scottia; a bishop of Canterbury, about the year 605, bestowed upon that island the same appellation. We shall not dispute with the Irish that their country received the name of Scottia some centuries before it was appropriated to Caledonia. But no argument can arise in favour of their superior antiquity from that priority. A colony of the ancient Grecians possessed themselves of a district of the lesser Asia, which afterwards obtained the name of Ionia. That colony, and their ancestors in Greece, for a series of ages, were called Ionians, but their territories in

* Scotti propria linguâ nomen habent a picto corpore, eo quod aculeis ferreis cum atramento, variarum figurarum stigmata anottentur. Isidor. Orig. lib. ix.

Europe never possessed the appellation of Ionia ; and, from that circumstance, will any man conclude, that the Ionians of Ephesus and Miletus were more ancient than those of Attica ?

Gildas.

The testimony of Gildas seems, at first sight, more favourable to the Hibernian system than that of Isidore. This writer, with an irascible disposition, soured by the misfortunes of the times, was querulous, wrathful, scurrilous, and at no less enmity with the whole world than with the enemies of his country, the Scots, Picts, and Saxons *. It is almost needless to observe that Gildas calls the Scots and Picts transmarine nations, as Bede has explained away that appellation in a manner that is not unfavourable to the system which we endea-

Gildas examined,

* Ex in Britannia, (so Gildas and Bede, in imitation of the Romans, called that part of the Island which had been subject to the empire) duabus gentibus *transmarinis* vehementer Sævis, Scottorum a Circio, Pictorum ab Aquilone, calcabilis multos stupet gemitque per annos.—Tum erumpens grex catulorum, (Saxones) de cubili lænæ barbariæ tribus, &c. “Then that kennel of whelps (*the Saxons*) issued out upon us from the den of the barbarous lioness:” And in another place this passionate writer says, “The fierce Saxons of ever execrable memory, detested by God and man, were admitted into the Island like so many wolves into the fold.”

your to establish *. The strength of the argument against us arises from the epithet of Hibernian robbers, with which the passionate Gildas has dignified the ancestors of the Scots †. Not to insist upon the more proper reading of the passage, as it is restored by Dr. Gale ‡, which destroys at once the authority in favour of the Hibernian descent of the Scots, we may, upon another foundation, fairly deny the consequences generally drawn from the vague expression of Gildas. Propertius in one of his elegies gives the epithet of Hiberni to the Getes of Thrace. Gildas was remarkably fond of expressing himself in the language of poetry. His diction from so puerile an affectation partakes more of the turgid declamation of tragedy, than of the precision and simplicity of a grave historian. Had he, by way of sarcasm on the severity of the climate of Caledonia, bestowed the epithet of Hiberni on its inhabitants, he should not have written improperly, unpoetically, or unlike his own manner.

* Transmarinas autem dicimus has gentes, non quod extra Britanniam essent positæ, sed quia a parte Brittonum erant remotæ, duobus finibus maris interjacentibus. Bede, Hist. lib. i. c. 12.

† Revertuntur ergo impudentes grassatores Hiberni domus, post non multum temporis reversuri.

‡ Vid. Gale's edition of Gildas. Instead of *revertuntur Hiberni domus* the doctor reads more grammatically *Hibernas domus*; that is, that the Scots after committing their depredations returned home for the winter.

The British and Irish Scots spoke the same language, and wore the same kind of dress, and were distinguished by every characteristical mark necessary to make a foreigner believe that both nations were originally the same people. Whether the Scots of Hibernia, or those of Albania, were the most ancient, every one was at freedom to resolve in his own way. Had Gildas positively decided in favour of the former, his authority can go no further than his confessed knowlege in antiquities. But it appears from other circumstances, that the British writer was a very bad antiquary. The Scots, according to him, infested, for the first time, the Roman province, when Maximus withdrew the legions from Britain. There is not, perhaps, any piece of ancient history better ascertained, than that a tribe of the Caledonians, under the name of Scots, made incursions into the province near seventy years before the rebellion of Maximus. The account which Gildas gives of the Roman walls betrays his ignorance in the tradition, as well as history, of his own country; and therefore it is difficult to say why the testimony of such a writer, had it even been less equivocal, should be thought decisive concerning the antiquities of a people to whose tradition and history he must, in the nature of things, have been an absolute stranger.

Bede.

Bede.

Bede's

Bede, a Saxon Monk, flourished in the monastery of Girwy upon the Tyne about the commencement of the seventh century, and displayed uncommon talents and learning for the age in which he lived. In his history of the Saxon churches the venerable writer distinguishes, with precision, the British Scots from those of Ireland, and positively affirms that the former derived their blood and origin from the latter. Bede did not confine his genealogical enquiries to the Scots. He endeavoured to trace all the British nations to their respective origins.

genealogi-
cal account
of the Bri-
tish nations.

The Britons, properly so called, says he, were the first inhabitants of this island, and they originally transmigrated from the Armorican division of Gaul. The Picts, in an after age, seized upon North Britain; for to the name of Caledonia the Anglo-Saxon was an absolute stranger. After the Britons and Picts had possessed the island for some ages, Britain, in its northern division, received a third nation from Ireland under the conduct of Reuda. Whether the Irish Scots obtained settlements of the Picts by force or favour, was a point which Bede could not determine. He was however informed that they were called Dalreudini, from their illustrious leader Reuda, and from the Galic word *deal*,

deal, which, according to the venerable writer, signified a portion or division of a country*.

It is remarkable, that not one English or Scottish antiquary ever implicitly adopted every part of the Anglo-Saxon's system. The Picts and Scots, according to him, as separate nations, and from very different origins, possessed North Britain before the commencement of the Christian æra. Camden, Usher, the two Lloyds, Stillingfleet, Innes, and many more, rejected, some one part or other, and some the whole of Bede's account of the southern Britons; but all these learned men received without examination his system of the Hibernian extraction of the British Scots.

Where we have an opportunity to examine Bede's account by the criterion of collateral history, we find that he has committed a very essential mistake. The southern Britons were so far from deriving their blood from the inhabitants of Armorica, that, on the contrary, the Armoricans had transmigrated from Britain not many ages before Bede's own time. If Bede there-

* Duce Reuda de Hibernia egressi, vel amicitia vel ferro, sibimet, inter eos, (Pictos) fedes, quas hactenus habent vindicarunt; a quo duce . . . hodie Dalreudini vocantur. —It is to be observed that *deal* does not signify a portion or division, in any one branch of the Celtic language. Those who aver the contrary, impose upon the public.

fore was in an error with respect to the origin of a people, whose history, on account of their connection with the Romans, was known, it is much more probable that he knew nothing certain concerning the antiquities of a nation, who had not among them the means of preserving, with any certainty, the memory of events.

arise from
various
causes.

From the political and religious prejudices which prevailed, in the days of Bede, between the British Scots and the Saxons, we may conclude that the venerable writer had very little conversation with the antiquaries or senachies of the former nation. Had he even consulted them, very little light could be derived from them in an age of ignorance, credulity, and barbarism. Bede, on the other hand, entertained a friendly partiality for the Scots of Ireland. That people were, in his time, remarkable for monkish learning and ascetic austerities; which, together with their benevolence and hospitality to the Saxon students, who flocked into their country, recommended them, in a very high degree, to the venerable Anglo-Saxon*. The good man, we may take it for granted, embraced every opportunity of conversing with those Hibernian missionaries and pilgrims who came over in swarms into Britain, in those days of con-

* Bed. Hist. lib. iv. c. 26.

version and religious pilgrimage. From them he borrowed all that genealogical erudition which he displays in the beginning of his ecclesiastical history.

The sudden transition which Bede makes from the tale of Reuda to a panegyric on Ireland, furnishes a strong presumption that he derived his information from that quarter. Having observed, in the course of a very favourable description of Ireland, that no reptile is seen in that country, that the air destroys serpents, that the leaves of Hibernian trees and the shavings of timber are efficacious antidotes against poison; after having remarked, that the happy island flowed with milk and honey, and was not destitute of vines; he concludes with a new declaration, as if that doctrine had been strongly inculcated upon him by his Irish friends, that the British Scots derived their origin from that fortunate country.

He received
his accounts
of the Scots
from Ire-
land.

It is apparent from another circumstance, that Bede borrowed his account of the Scots from the Irish. He calls the inhabitants of Iar-ghaël by the name of Dal-reudini, an appellation utterly unknown to the historians, writers of chronicles, bards, and senachies of Scotland, though common in the annals of Ireland. Bede's account of the Picts being almost word for word what has been handed down in the historical rhimes of Ire-

Confuted.

land *, furnishes a striking proof of the Hibernian origin of the whole of the Anglo-Saxon's genealogical tale.: Both the Irish and he supposed that the Picts were distinguished by that name, which, according to them, is derived from a Latin epithet, near five complete centuries before the foundation of Rome was laid by Romulus : A circumstance not very favourable to the accuracy of Bede's system. The scheme of Bede being thus traced to its source, the tales of Irish bards, and those tales having been already thrown into discredit, we may infer, that the venerable writer's authority concludes nothing for the Hibernian descent of the British Scots.

Usher's arguments in support of Bede

To destroy, from another principle, the tale of Bede and the story of Reuda, it may not be improper to observe, that the learned Usher found out that a district in the county of Antrim, which has for many ages been distinguished by the name of *Route*, is the Dalriada of the old Irish †. Dalriada, says the ingenious prelate, derives its name from Cairbre-Riada, the son of Conaire, who held the scepter of Ireland in the third century. But we may venture to affirm that Usher, in this supposition, was very much misled. Rute or Reaidh in the old Scottish language signifies a Ram. From the first

* Keating, p. 60, 61, 62.

† Usher. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 320.

of these synonymous words, the territory in the county of Antrim, from which, it is pretended, the British Scots originally transmigrated, received the appellation of the *Route*, and from the second is to be deduced the name of Dalriada, literally the valley of the Ram.

Usher quotes a patent which is preserved in the Tower ^{examined,} of London, wherein it appears, that John king of England granted to Allan lord of Galloway the territory of Dalreth and the island of Rachrin, which is situated over against that district *. From the syllabication of the two local names in the patent, we may conclude that the etymon we have given of Dalriada is perfectly just. Rachrin, which may, with great propriety, be reckoned an appendage to the ROUTE, signifies the ram's promontory, in the Irish tongue; and Dalriada itself being expressly called the land of Rams, in the Irish patent mentioned by the primate himself, is a circumstance that is decisive in our favour.

Dalreath or Dalreadh, which was afterwards latinized ^{confuted.} into Dalriada, could not possibly, according to the genius of the Irish language, be derived from Cairbre-Riada, were it even certain that such a monarch ever existed. Riada signifies a *long-hand*, an appellation joined to the

* Usher. ubi supra.

name of Cairbre, on account of the singular length of his hands. The Route, therefore, in propriety of language, ought to have been called Dal-Cairbre, if it must at any rate receive its name from that pretended monarch.

Authority
of Jocelyn
and Tigernach

The primate, with all his erudition, could only produce the authority of Jocelyn and Tigernach*, writers of the eleventh and twelfth ages, in support of the Irish origin of the Scots in Britain. Had these writers even been less notoriously fabulous than they appear to be, it is certain that they flourished in too modern a period to know any thing of the transactions of the Irish in the dark ages, prior to the introduction of Christianity and letters by Patrick. The two writers, it is true, place the transmigration of the Scots into Britain on this side of that æra, but the testimony of the Roman writers sufficiently destroys that absurd position†.

exploded.

Tigernach and Jocelyn contradict one another materially, and Bede, who lived more than three centuries before the first of those writers, differs toto cœlo from

* Tigernach carries down his annals to A. D. 1088, in which he died. Jocelyn compiled a life of St. Patrick from all the futile tales and traditions he could collect, and published it in the year 1175, at the desire of Thomas O'Connor, archbishop of Armagh.

† Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xx.

both ;

both; but had all the three concurred in transporting the Scots into Britain under the same leader, and in the same year, we might, with reason, presume that they all were mistaken. Usher has ascertained the bounds of Dalriada, or the *Route* in Antrim, and found its whole extent about thirty miles*. Were it even certain that Dalriada produced more men than any district of the same extent in ancient Ireland, still it is incredible, that an army could be mustered there sufficient to subdue the principality of Iar-ghaël. Should the dominion of Argyre only comprehend Braidalbin, Cantyre, Knapdale, and Lorn, the natives must have been an overmatch for the inhabitants of the small country pent up within the river Boisy and Glenfinneacht. Should it be admitted that the Dalriadans were supported in their expedition into Caledonia by some other Irish tribes, it is reasonable to suppose that the eastern Picts would have aided their friends of the West, at a time, when they confessedly had nothing to fear from any other foreign enemy.

Nennius.——General Observations.

The testimony of Nennius deserves little attention; Nennius. he derived his intelligence concerning the origin of the

* Usher. ubi supra.

Scots from the Hibernian *fenachies* *, and their tales have been already examined and exploded. The system of Irish antiquity which Nennius has preserved is, in many instances, diametrically opposite to those genealogical schemes, which the modern writers of Ireland have new modelled and adorned; and hence an internal proof arises concerning the uncertainty of Hibernian annals.

Conclusive
arguments

As a concluding argument against the Hibernian extraction of the Scots, it may not be improper to observe, that the Caledonians might be called Hibernians, their country in general Hibernia, and the western division of it Ierna or Yverdhon, without deriving their blood from the Irish. The Saxons of England, it is well known, had their Norfolk and Suffolk, and the appellation of Southerons and Norlands are not hitherto totally extinguished among the Scots: The ancient Picts, in like manner, were divided into two great tribes, the Vecturiones and Deucaledones, the inhabitants of the northern and southern divisions, according to the testimony of Marcellinus †: Or, as the celebrated Camden seems to in-

* Sic mihi peritissimi Scottorum (Hibernorum) nuntiaverunt. Nennius edit. Rog. Gale, p. 101.

† Eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi, Deucaledonas et Vecturiones. *Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. xxvii. Camdenus, vir in patria historia illustranda accuratissimus, legendum putat *Deucaledonios*, velut sic nominatos ab occidua Scotiæ ora, quæ Deucaledonius oceanus irrumpit.

finuate,

sinuate, the eastern and western Caledonians. Marcellinus, very probably, meant the two great tribes of the Caledonians, even then distinguished by the names of Picts and Scots. *Picti* was the general name of the unsubdued Britons, after the appellation of Caledonians fell into desuetude. Marcellinus, in the passage cited at the bottom of the preceding page, seems to take the Picts in this general sense, though in other places he confines the name to the eastern Caledonians.

After the Caledonians, upon the decline of the Roman power in the southern Britain, began to infest the province in separate bodies, the two principal tribes in those incursions were distinguished by the names of Picts and Scots, by the historians of the empire. If the Picts spoke the Gaëlic or Caledonian language, they must certainly have called the territories of the Scots, *Iar*, *Eire*, *Erin*, or *Ard-Iar**, words, all of them, expressive of the situation of the country of the Scottish tribes, in opposition to the Pictish division of Caledonia; if they spoke the ancient British, they would have distinguished the country of the Scots by the name of *Yverd-hon*, or, as it is pronounced, *Yberon* or *Yveron*. These

against the
Hibernian
extraction

* *IAR* signifies the West; *Eir* is a corruption of *Iar*; *Erin* is the same with the western country, and *Ard-Iar* is the Galic name for the western quarter.

names being communicated to the Romans by the Britons, or by Pictish prisoners, it was natural for them to latinize them into Ierna, Jouverna, or Hibernia ; though it must be confessed, that the latter name more probably proceeded from the idea which the Romans conceived of the climate of Ireland. In common conversation, the western Highlands are called by those who speak the Galic language IAR, or the West ; and when the Hebrides are comprehended in that division of Scotland, the Galic appellation of Iar-in has been always given to the whole. The district of Arregathel, or rather Iar-ghaël, so often mentioned in the annals of Ireland and Scotland, as the first possessions of the Hibernian colonies in Britain, carries in its name a demonstration of this position, as well as a decisive argument against the ancient system of the origin of the Scots. Iar-ghaël literally signifies the *Western-Ghaël*, or the Scots, in opposition to the *Eastern-Ghael*, or the Picts, who possessed the shore of the German Ocean : an unanswerable argument that the Picts and Scots were one and the same people.

of the British Scots.

In the neighbourhood of Drumalbin, a ridge of hills which divided the Scottish from the Pictish dominions, there is a lake, which, to this day, is called Erin. The river Erin or Ern rises from that lake, and gives its name to a very considerable division of the county of Perth.

This

This district is crowded, more than any other in the North, with Roman camps. It was here that the progress of the Imperial arms was always stopt by the almost impassable ridge of hills called the Grampians. The Romans could not be strangers to the name of a country where their armies remained long enough to leave such lasting memorials of themselves behind. Juvenal, from the soldiers of Agricola, might have heard of the district of Erin, which he softened into Juverna; and the troops of Theodosius carried the same intelligence to Claudian.

ARGUMENTS AND PROOFS

AGAINST THE

IRISH EXTRACT OF THE SCOTS.

*Stillingfleet and Usher examined.*Stillingfleet
confuted.

IN vain has Stillingfleet observed, that there must have been a sea between Britain and the Ierna of Claudian.

Totam cum Scottus Iernam

Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.

Tethys, or the ocean, it has been already shewn, was rather agitated into a foam by Saxon, than by Scottish rowers. But not to insist upon that criticism, if by Ierna we are to understand IAR, the western division of Caledonia, from Glotta to Tarvisium, the many extensive arms of the sea, which indent that coast, will, at once, remove the learned prelate's objection. Should we suppose that IAR-IN, or the western islands of Scotland, were the Ierna of Claudian, the objection will altogether vanish, as many of those islands are at a
much

much greater distance than Ireland itself from the continent of Caledonia *.

To collect the whole argument on this head into one point of view: The Scots of Britain lived in a cold climate; their country was situated to the West of such of their neighbours as had an immediate communication with the Romans. The Irish lay under the same disadvantage of unfriendly seasons; and their island was similarly situated. The historians and poets of the empire, and the geographers of Greece and Rome, exaggerated, either through ignorance or prejudice, the severity of the climate under which both the Scottish nations lived. From an exact conformity of genius, language, manners, dress, situation, and climate, the Scots of both the isles had a much better title to the common appellation of Hiberni, than Italy, Spain, and a considerable part of Africa, had to the name of Hef-

The argument collected into one point.

* Stillingfleet remarks, that if *Strathern*, in the county of Perth, should be admitted to be the Ierna of Claudian, it would be ridiculous in the poet to say, that the Scots *put in motion the whole of a small district* of their country. The bishop did not recollect, that it was very common with the ancient poets to put a part of a country for the whole. Latium is often used for the Roman empire; Mycænæ for all the states of Greece; and Thule, by Claudian himself, for North Britain.

Quem litus adustæ
Horrescit Lybiæ et ratibus impervia Thule.

peria.

peria. But whether the Hibernians of the British soil *, the Hibernian robbers of a much later age †, and the Scots vanquished by Theodosius ‡, derived their origin from Ireland, or were of Caledonian extraction, is a point which Eumenius, Claudian, and Gildas have left undetermined.

Usher examined,

It is observed by Usher ||, that Albania was not distinguished by the name of Scotia, prior to the eleventh age. The antiquaries of Scotland have quoted several passages from Bede to refute the observation of the learned prelate. But had the remark been perfectly just, it is by no means conclusive in favour of the superior antiquity of the Hibernian Scots. Were there no Scots in Ireland prior to the seventh century? for then, for the first time, that country received the name of Scotia from Isidore and Lawrence of Canterbury. We may turn the primate's argument against his own system. Marcellinus found the Scots in Britain a whole century before Orosius discovered them in Ireland; and, from a parity of reason, we might conclude that the British Scots are more ancient than the Irish friends of the ingenious prelate.

* Eumen. Panegy.

† Gildas xv.

‡ Claudian. de Quart. Consulat. Honor.

§ Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 383.

The learned Usher is not more happy in the argument which he deduces from the appellation of Scotia Major given to Ireland, in opposition to the Scotia Minor of Britain. Donald O'Neil *, a petty king or chieftain of Ulster in the fourteenth century, and a charter granted by the emperor Sigismund to a convent of Scots and Irish at Ratisbon, have made that distinction. But to a conclusion drawn in favour of the old system from these circumstances, it may, from a parity of reason, be opposed, that the Hibernians of the age of Ptolemy were originally Britons, and not Spaniards, because that geographer gave the name of the lesser Britain to Ireland. The inhabitants of Hellas, by a similar argument, ought to have derived their origin from the Italian Magna Græcia; that is, to speak the language of some of those who are most likely to oppose our system, that the Greeks who possessed themselves of a part of Italy were older than their ancestors in Greece.

It may be here, with great propriety, observed, that nothing is more deceitful, in tracing nations to their origin, than arguments deduced from a similarity of local names in different countries. Strabo thought it an extravagant fancy to derive the Spaniards from the Ibe-

* In O'Neil's letter to Pope Boniface.

rians of Asia ; yet the Asiatic Iberia, as well as Spain, had its Iberus and Arragon *. But a conformity in a few particulars is not sufficient to persuade us, that the neighbours of the Caspian could, in an early period, transport themselves either by sea or land into the European Iberia, no more than the Albanians of the same division of Asia could send colonies to Caledonia.

furnishes
no proof of
a common
origin.

Italy, Macedonia, Asia near Caucasus, and North Britain, countries very distant from one another, produced four nations promiscuously called Albanians. Nothing can be inferred from this identity, but that they all derived their names from the mountainous face of the regions which they respectively possessed †. In the same manner, nothing can be concluded from the name of Hiberni, given, by some writers, indiscriminately to the western Caledonians, and the Irish, but that both nations lived under the same unfavourable climate, and that both were peculiarly distinguished by the same characteristical qualities, which naturally arose from their common origin.

* Cellarius in Iberia Asiatica.

† Dr. Macpherson's Dissertation, x.

Rise and Progress of the Fiction.

In vain have the Irish, and the abettors of their high antiquities, called in the aid of foreign writers to support the pretended Hibernian origin of the British Scots. That part of their history, like the exploded Milesian tale, must rest entirely on the credit of their own domestic annals ; but that no degree of faith ought to be given to those annals beyond the introduction of letters, is a point which we have already very amply discussed. The authority of history having failed, it is natural to suppose that the adversaries of our system will have recourse to objections arising from reason. To do all the justice in our power to the old and popular error concerning the origin of the Scots, we shall examine with attention those objections, before we shall conclude for ever the controversy by arguments, which, though obvious, are new and decisive.

Could ancient tradition, the belief of ages, the positive assertions of English antiquaries and Irish annalists, and the universal acquiescence of the historians of the British Scots be sufficient to establish the credit of the Hibernian descent of that nation, it must be confessed that it were idle to hope to reconcile the public judgment

General observations.

On the rise and progress

to a new system so diametrically opposite to the old. But we have seen that tradition could not have extended to that period in which the transmigration of the Scots is placed, and therefore the belief of ages, which was founded upon that pretended tradition, was no more than a popular error. This error, rendered venerable by its antiquity, misled, to say no worse, the writers of the annals of Ireland, and deceived the historians of North Britain. The antiquaries of England, it must be confessed, could not be influenced by the prejudices which led astray the writers of both the Scottish nations; but the former were under no temptation to contradict or expose a tradition which was not disagreeable to themselves, though from a very different cause than that which rendered it so highly favoured in Scotland and Ireland.

of the Hi-
berno Scot-
tish fictions.

It may not be improper, in this place, to inquire into the rise and progress of those traditionary fictions which have so much obscured the antiquities of the Scots of both the isles. When the first dawn of learning rose among those barbarous tribes who had subverted the empire of the Romans, some scholars more profound than the rest, traced the antiquity of their respective nations to illustrious names recorded in ancient history. The Romans, Greeks, Spaniards, and other nations who
figured

figured in old times were placed at the head of the pedigree of barbarians, who, but just emerging from illiterate obscurity, had lost all memory of their own origin. The impostures of the half-learned writers of the middle ages were received with avidity and great credulity by the English, French, Spaniards, Germans, Danes, and Swedes : a part of an infatuation so universal must have extended itself to the Scots of Ireland.

The letters which St. Patrick introduced into that island in the fifth age, were not employed in recording historical transactions for some centuries posterior to that period. The enthusiasm of the times turned all the little literature of the religious of Ireland to holier purposes than to register temporal events ; which, from the secluded situation of that country, must have been very unimportant. Miracles, visions, and those sacred persons who distinguished themselves in the work of conversion, employed the whole attention of the monks, at a time that the royal line of the pretended Heremon sat in the midst of obscurity and anarchy on the Irish throne. The antiquities of the nation being thus left in the hands of illiterate bards and senachies, assumed so monstrous a form, that the polishing they have received from succeeding writers has scarce hitherto rendered them fit for the public eye.

Cause of the
obscurity
which in-
volves the
ancient
Irish.

The fable of the Hibernian extraction of the British Scots seems to have been fabricated in Ireland long before

Æra of the
Spanish fic-
tion.

fore the bards thought of bringing a colony from Spain into that country. Bede, in the seventh age, had received intelligence of the first of those stories from the Irish senachies, but his placing it in a period beyond the reach of tradition has thrown absolute discredit upon the whole. In the period between Bede and Nennius, who, for the first time, mentioned the Cantabric descent of the Scots of Ireland, some learned bard or monk discovered that Spain was called Iberia, and, upon the similarity between that name and Hibernia, built the whole fabric of the Milesian tale. To obviate all scepticism concerning a story which wore the face of improbability, it became necessary for succeeding writers to give assurances to the world, that letters and polite arts were cultivated in Ireland no less than seventeen hundred years before its conversion to the Christian faith by St. Patrick.

Cause of the
darkness
which
covers the
British
Scots.

When monkish learning flourished in Ireland, the Scots of Britain, by an uninterrupted series of hostilities with the Britons, Picts, and Saxons, were diverted from cultivating letters, which alone could enable them to look back into their antiquities, or to transmit any memory of their actions to posterity. Their exploits in the field died away for want of the means of perpetuating them in the closet. The monks of Ireland, as it was manifest to the whole world that both the Scottish nations were originally the same people, made an easy acquisition of an

an illiterate, though brave people, and obtruded upon the world that system of the origin of the Caledonian Scots, which has been, for many ages, almost universally received.

Negative Arguments.

Had the more ancient genealogists of the little prin-
cipality of Argadia * discovered that there was a con-
siderable district in Peloponnesus, the name of which
so nearly resembled the latinized appellation of their
own country, it is probable they would have traced
their ancestors to an Arcadian origin. The Arcadians
were brave, and a respectable people in Greece †, and
their being older than Jupiter and the moon would have
highly recommended them to the Scottish senachies.

First argu-
ment.

Had the first fabricators of the fabulous history of
Scotland found out that there were Albanians in the
North of Asia, Albanians in the army of Alexander
the Great, and Alban senates and kings in Italy, it is
at least doubtful whether they would have condescended
to deduce their nation from Ireland. This conjecture

Second ar-
gument.

* The principality of Iar-ghaël, or Argyle, was called Argadia by the monkish writers of the middle ages.

† Δοκεῖ δὲ παλαιότατα ἔθνη εἶναι τὰ Ἀρκαδικὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, &c.
Strabo, lib. viii.

is neither fanciful nor extravagant; The author of an old Scottish chronicle preserved by Innes *, having, it seems, read Solinus †, derives the Picts and Scots from the Albanian Scythians. But the monks of Ireland found out Iberia before the senachies of Caledonia had the good fortune to meet either with the Scythians, or any Albanian beyond the limits of their own country.

Objections
answered.

The Irish, it may be objected, were too obscure and inconsiderable a people in Europe to tempt the Scots to deduce their origin from them, if the story had not actually any foundation in fact; especially as their neighbours and enemies to the South traced themselves to an illustrious ancestry of Romans and Trojans. The Scots of Albany entertained a very different idea of the Irish nation. Hibernian missionaries had converted the greatest part of the Scots from the errors of the Pagan superstition; Columba was the great apostle of the Picts, and became afterwards the tutelar saint of the united Caledonian kingdoms. Legions of monks and saints swarmed from Ireland into North Britain in those days of conversion and religious peregrination. It was

* *Gentes albo crine nascuntur ab assiduis nivibus, et ipsius capilli color genti nomen dedit, et inde vocantur Albani, de quibus originem duxerunt Scotti et Picti.* Innes' Critical Essay, Append. No. 2.

† Solin. Polyhist. xxv.

natural for an illiterate people, like the British Scots, to believe that a nation who produced those holy and very extraordinary men was one of the most illustrious in the world. Whether the zealous missionaries, among other pious frauds, endeavoured to inculcate on their converts a belief of the stupenduous antiquity of the Irish nation, and the Hibernian extraction of the Scots, to promote the good cause of Christianity, by procuring to themselves a favourable reception in Albany, is very difficult to determine. That those apostles served in the double capacity of bards and teachers of the faith is apparent from the appellation of CHLERI*, given, in the old poems and traditions of the Scots, indiscriminately to the Irish emigrants of both professions.

But, be that as it will, it is certain that swarms of Irish bards accompanied into Caledonia those Hibernian missionaries who first converted the majority of the Picts and Scots to Christianity. It was convenient for the divine, that the bard should propagate a belief of the connexion between the Scots of both the isles; and the authority of the former could establish any doctrine in the minds of an ignorant, credulous, and superstitious people. The senachies were impudent, the bards formidable, and both were eloquent. If any scepticism

The Hibernian tales inculcated by Irish missionaries and bards.

* Chleri, from Clericus.

remained

remained against their well-told tales, the missionaries destroyed it altogether by the weight of their sanctified character. This system, once established, was propagated, and became the traditional belief of after ages. The little progress that learning made in Scotland when its first histories were written, could not enable the zealous abettors of its antiquities to overturn that system of the origin of the nation, which had been so long obtruded upon the world; and the Scottish writers who, in a much later period, distinguished themselves in critical inquiries into the history of their ancestors, were at more pains to adorn the fictions of their predecessors, than to expose their absurdities.

Objections
answered

Some learned men have drawn an argument against our system from the silence of the Romans concerning the Scots till after the commencement of the fourth age. Their not being mentioned before that century, say they, argues strongly that they must have been a new people in Britain. That this is an unjust conclusion will appear from collateral examples. Tacitus has not mentioned any national names in North Britain but those of Caledonii and Horestii; yet it is certain that the Vecturiones and Deucaledones of Marcellinus, the Mæatæ of Dion Cassius, the Gadeni, Cantæ, and Epidii of Ptolemy, possessed that country. Ptolemy, it must be confessed, knew nothing of the inhabitants of

2

the

the northern Britain; under the name of Scots; he was equally a stranger to the Picts, Mæataë, and Attacotti. But, if he has neglected to mention the Scots of Britain, he has been equally unjust to those of Ireland; a circumstance very strange, if that country was, as Bede says, overstocked with tribes of that name before Caledonia received any colony from abroad.

Tacitus in his description of Germany has omitted the Saxons. Ptolemy, soon after that celebrated historian, found that warlike nation on the confines of the Cherfonesus Cimbrica. Germany is for the first time mentioned by Julius Cæsar; and are we to suppose, from that circumstance, that the inhabitants of that extensive division of Europe came, in the days of the illustrious writer, like a cloud of locusts from an unknown country? The Franks and Allemans were not heard of before the third century; yet those nations, in whom the Catti, Chauci, Cherusci, Agravarii, the Teutones, and the Cimbri, in a confined sense, were lost, were never once thought to have been a new people, who had enslaved, destroyed, or expelled, the old inhabitants of those territories which they possessed in Germany. These collateral examples form a complete answer to the objection against our system, which arises from the silence of the Romans concerning the Picts and Scots till the beginning of the fourth age.

by collateral
examples.

Positive Proofs.

Proofs of the
Caledonian
extraction
of the Scots.

To dwell no longer on negative arguments against the Hibernian system, we shall proceed to positive proofs of the Caledonian extraction of the British Scots. The very ingenious author of some dissertations lately published, has discussed this subject with so much ability and exactness, that little is left to be done but to collect into one point of view the most striking of his arguments. To these arguments we shall annex some observations, to quash for ever a system which has been so long imposed for truth upon the world.

First proof.

Alba or Albin, it has been already observed, was the first name given to this island, by the Gaël, who transmigrated from Belgium into the more elevated country of Britain. Hence proceeded the Albion of the Greeks, and the Albium of the Roman language. The inhabitants of mountainous countries, who, from their situation, have very little intercourse with other nations, and who were never subject to a foreign yoke, are remarkably tenacious of old local names, and their aboriginal customs, manners, and language. We accordingly find, that the ancient Scots, in all the ages to which our information extends, agreed in calling Scotland Alba or Albania. The Highlanders and the inhabitants of the
Hebrides

Hebrides have, to this day, no other name but Alba for Scotland, and they invariably call themselves Albanich, or genuine Britons. The uninterrupted use of this national appellation, from the earliest account we have of their history, furnishes a moral demonstration that they are the true descendants of the first inhabitants of Britain. Had they been of Irish extraction, they and their ancestors would have undoubtedly assumed a name more suitable to their origin.

The Belgic nations, who transmigrated into South Britain before the descent of Julius Cæsar, retained the name of those communities on the continent from which they respectively derived their blood*. The auxiliaries of Vortigern preserved long their original name of Saxons, and the Scots who speak the Galic language have no other name for England or its inhabitants than *Sasson* and *Sassonich*. But if the ancient Scots have preserved among them the true name of the English, for so many ages after it has been disused by that nation itself, it is much more likely that they must have retained their own indigenous name. Second proof.

Had the Scots been originally Irish, *Erinich* and not *Albanich* would have been their proper name. So far were they from adopting the name of their neigh- Third proof.

* Cæsar, lib. 5.

bours of Hibernia, that it is well known that both the old Irish and the inhabitants of the north of Scotland promiscuously call themselves Gaël, or the posterity of the Gauls, who first transmigrated into Britain from the continent. The Welsh, in ancient times, distinguished the Scots of both the British isles by the appellation of Gaidhel, which, as the D H are invariably quiescent in Celtic words, is much the same with Gaël, in the pronunciation. Should then the Scots be of Irish extract, it must naturally follow that the Picts sprung from the same source, a doctrine no less absurd than it is new.

Fourth
proof.

From the name of the district of Iar-ghaël, which, it has been always said, was the first territory possessed by the Hiberno-Scottish colony, there arises a very decisive argument in favour of our system. Iar-ghaël is not the name of the country, but of those who inhabited it from the earliest times. This is always the mode of expression in the Gaëlic tongue. The name of the people is, in elegant language, always placed for that of their country. Scotland, for that reason, is never used by the Highlanders as the proper name of North Britain. They disclaim the name of Scots; and having brought down in their traditions, that they themselves are the most ancient of all Britons, they call their country Alba, and themselves Albanich. The bulk of them never heard
that

that fabulous fileas and half-learned pedants deduced them from any other country. They reckon themselves congenial with their native mountains; and, like the Arcadians, as old as the moon that rolls over their heads. But not to wander from the subject; Iar-ghaël signifies the *Western-Ghaël* in opposition to the *Eastern-Ghaël*, or the Picts, who possessed the shore of the German Ocean. But what is conclusive against the Irish system is, that *Caëldoch*, or the country of the Gaël, which the Romans softened into Caledonia, is the only name by which the Highlanders distinguish that division of Scotland which they themselves possess.

We shall now leave it to the candour of the unprejudiced, and the common sense of mankind, whether there does not, upon the whole, arise a demonstration, that the first colony of Gaël or Gauls who transmigrated into Britain from the continent, and were afterwards driven northward by the pressure of other interlopers, are the progenitors of the Scots of North Britain and Ireland. The true cause why the name of Scotti was not heard of till the days of Marcellinus, or rather of Porphyrius is, that it was a contumelious name*. It was for the same reason that the genuine offspring of the old

The Gaël
of the conti-
nent

* Dr. Macpherson's Dissertations.

Caledonians,

Caledonians, the Highlanders, have never adopted a name which carried reproach in its meaning.

the immediate
ancestors
of the Scots.

Why the Irish obtained, in the days of Orosius, the name of Scots, when their transmigration from Caledonia was so remote, requires to be explained. The name of Scotti was communicated to the Romans by the Picts and Britons. The Britons and Romans discovering a perfect resemblance in the manners, customs, dress, arms, and language of the Iar-ghaël, or western Caledonians, and the Irish, agreed to call both nations by one common name. The Irish being no strangers to the military reputation that their friends of Caledonia had acquired against the Romans and their provincials, either adopted their name, or acquiesced afterwards in an appellation which some writers had imposed upon them. The illiterate, and consequently the bulk of the Irish nation, were never reconciled to this innovation. They preserved the Caledonian designation of Gaël, or the name of Erinich, which they had assumed after their transmigration into Ireland; and the adventitious names of Scotti and Scottia fell at last into total disuse.

In the course of the preceding discussion, the Author of the Introduction has laid no stress upon the testimony
of

of the Poems of Ossian. Having rejected the Hibernian bards, there might be an appearance of partiality in drawing authorities from the ancient poet of Caledonia. In the present state of the argument there is no need of his assistance. The fabric we have raised demands no collateral prop; it even can bestow the aid it does not require. The perfect agreement between Ossian and the genealogical system we have established, has placed his æra beyond the commencement of the popular opinion of the Hibernian descent of the Scots; which was old enough to be placed in a period of remote antiquity by Bede, who flourished in the beginning of the seventh age.

REL-

RELIGION

OF THE

ANCIENT BRITISH NATIONS.

Preliminary Reflections.

Observations.

NO weary traveller ever issued forth with more joy from a barren desert into the skirts of a pleasant and well cultivated country, than the Author of the Introduction quits the sterile subject of Scottish and Irish Antiquities. But to decide finally a point so long agitated was a part of the province which he had chosen for himself. The origin of nations, like a river near its source, presents nothing that is either beautiful or great. It is only when history descends into the cultivated periods of a well formed community, that it becomes an object of pleasure, and the means of improvement. We have still a long journey to make; but the way is strewed with some flowers.

Modern historians blamed.

To an investigation of their origin, it may be proper to add a brief inquiry into the Religion of the Ancient British Nations. This subject has not suffered less from the

the negligence, than the former did from the vanity and prejudice of historians. Some complain that the ancients have not thrown any considerable light upon the northern nations; others affirm that the opinions and actions of Barbarians are unworthy of any memory. The first observation is unjust; the latter is the result of a pride incident to polished times.

Though few of the Romans, like the first Cæsar carried a talent for writing into the field, the inquiries of their historians extended to the characteristical manners of the nations whom that illustrious people subdued. We find, accordingly, that there are facts preserved sufficient to prove that the best qualities of the modern Europeans are but the virtues of their ancestors separated from ferocity and barbarism. Nor is it from the ancients only we are to derive our information. The opinions of our forefathers ought to be traced among those of their posterity, whom their situation excluded from any considerable commerce with strangers; such, till of late years, were the inhabitants of a part of Wales, and such still are some Irish tribes, and the natives of the mountains of Scotland.

Possessed of this channel to a knowlege of the character of the ancient Celtæ, we may, perhaps, be able to advance something new upon the subject; and by applying the accounts of the ancients to the criterion of

E e

the

Author's
double
source of in-
formation

enables him
to advance
something
new.

the living manners and indigenous opinions of an unmixed race of men, rescue some facts from the shades of doubt and uncertainty. The character of a people must be gathered from an inquiry into those prejudices and principles of the human mind which are the motives of their actions. To take a cursory review of the religious opinions of our remote ancestors, is the most direct path to a knowledge of those manners, which so remarkably distinguished them from the polished nations of antiquity. An ample field for disquisition presents itself; but it is more the purpose of the Author to give a clear and concise idea of the subject, than to deviate into dissertations, which, without being satisfactory, might assume an appearance of ingenuity and learning.

Their Idea of the Unity of God.

General remark on religion.

Religion is one of those few things which seldom receive any improvement from time. Being an universal concern, it naturally becomes a subject of general inquiry; and every time it is turned in the mind it suffers additional corruption from those vain superstitions and fears, which are inherent in human nature. The original opinions of mankind concerning God were the most simple, noble, and just. We find that an adequate notion of the Divinity was so far from growing with the progress of the art of thinking, that the Celt, in the midst

midst of his forest, owned but one Lord of the universe *, when the Academic on the banks of Ilyffus, animated into Gods his own abstracted ideas.

The information of the ancients did not extend to the Celtæ when they continued in a state of nature, and consequently we can form no judgment concerning their aboriginal ideas on the subject of religion. When they became first known to the writers of Greece and Rome, they were formed into communities, subject to some kind of government, and they had an order of men established among them who were not only the superintendants, but perhaps the inventors of their religious ceremonies and opinions. It is, however, probable, that, like other savage nations †, they had some imperfect notion of a Supreme Being, before the Druids formed that philosophical system of religion which had such a wonderful effect on their national character and manners.

Religion of
the Celtæ.

* UNUM DEUM, fulguris effectorum, Dominum hujus universi SOLUM agnoscunt. Procop. Goth. lib. iii. Regnatur omnium DEUS, cætera subjecta atque parentia. Tacit. de mor. Germ. xxxix. Non diffitentur UNUM DEUM in coelis. Helmold. lib. i. Celtæ colunt quidem Deum. Max. Tyr. Dissert. xxxviii.

† Some tribes of American Indians have an imperfect idea of God. The Choctaws, in particular, acknowledge that there is a NAHULLA CHITO, or great Spirit, but as he never met either them or their fathers in the woods, to assist them in the chase, or taught them those arts which he communicated to the Europeans, they pay him no divine honours.

Characte-
ristical name
of God.

The name, or rather title, by which the Divinity is distinguished in all the languages of the ancient, as well as most of those of modern Europe, is sufficient to demonstrate that polytheism was not known to the old Celtæ. The ΔΙΣ of the Greeks, their ΘΕΟΣ, and the oblique cases of their ΖΕΥΣ, the Dis, Ditis pater, and Deus of the Romans, are manifestly derived from DE, DI, TI or DIA, the only appellation by which God is known to those who speak the Galic of Britain and Ireland *. DE, DI or DIA literally signifies the PERSON, by way of eminence, or rather The HE, if we can, with any propriety, use that expression.

Idea of his
Unity.

That the unity of the Supreme Being was one of the fundamental tenets of the religion inculcated by the Druids † on their followers, we have reason to believe, notwithstanding the positive assertions of many ancient writers to the contrary. The old Gauls were said to worship three divinities under the appellations of TEUTATES, HESUS, and TARANIS ‡; but these three names

* E in the Galic language signifies HE, which, by prefixing the article D makes DE, or, as it is pronounced, DI, or DIA, literally the BEING, or GOD, emphatically.

† Aerem et aquam venerantur Adorant autem tantummodo et Deum nuncupant illum qui cœlum et terram fecit.

‡ Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
TEUTATES, horrensque feris alteribus HESUS,
Et TARANIS Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ. Lucan. lib. i.

are

are manifestly titles of one Supreme Being, and not three separate intelligences to whom divine honours were paid. TEUTATES, or DE-TAT-UAS signifies *the God that is above*: HESUS is derived from the same simple idea with DE; from Es, or, with an emphasis, HES, which means HE, or *the Being*; and TARANIS is the epithet of THUNDERER, given by all nations to the Supreme Divinity *.

Their pretended Polytheism.

The most rational systems of religion have been always found to deviate into absurdity and superstition among the ignorant multitude. The human mind, naturally timid, is apt to clothe with terrors every thing which it does not sufficiently comprehend. The bulk of the Celtæ, therefore, almost corrupted into polytheism the philosophical opinion of the Druids concerning God.

Religion
subject to
corruption.

* It has been the opinion of some learned men that TEUTATES is a composition of DI or DEU, God, and TAD or TAT, father. But we may oppose to this etymon, that TAT for father is only used in a familiar sense by very young children, when they address themselves to a parent; for, according to the genius of the Galic language, it can never be used by grown persons. It is not therefore in any degree probable that a title, in itself diminutive, was applied to that Great Spirit who pervaded the vast body of the universe. Were a stranger to hear some very good Christians in the mountains of Scotland addressing at this day, their prayers to the Supreme Being, he might suppose that the worship of TEUTATES, TARANIS, and HESUS were not yet abolished in that country. O DHE TAT 'UAS! 'STU HESAS aird! Sleat TORAN Nan nial fein. O God, WHO ART ABOVE! Thou art HE, the highest! Thine is the MUR-MURING noise of the Clouds.

The

Philosophi-
cal opinion
of the
Druids on
that subject.

The doctrine concerning the Divinity, which Pythagoras and his disciples first broached in the South of Europe, was the same with that of the Druids, and perhaps borrowed by the philosopher * from that order of men. They looked upon the Divinity as the soul of the world; a spirit, which diffusing itself through all nature, gave, in a particular manner, life to men and all other animals †. From this system of the universality of God, the Celtic nations naturally deduced an idea, that his presence was most conspicuous in those parts of the universe which were endued with most beauty and action. The heavenly bodies, on account of their splendor, magnitude, and motion; the elements of fire, air, and water, on account of their rapidity and invincible force; were thought to possess an extraordinary proportion of that active spirit which pervaded the whole body of nature.

* Pythagoras, it is said, travelled into Thrace, and borrowed many of his philosophical opinions from the Thracians. Vid. Joseph. cont. App. lib. i. He passed the later years of his life in Magna Græcia; and consequently became acquainted with the theology of the Samnites and other Celtic nations, who possessed the neighbourhood of Crotona. He also studied philosophy under Abaris, the Hyperborean; (vid. Suid. in Pythag.) and, according to the testimony of one of his followers, heard the opinions of the Gauls concerning religion. Alexander in libro de symbolis Pythagoricis, vult Pythagoram Gallos audivisse. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i.

† Deum esse animum per naturam rerum omnem intentum et commensantem ex quo nostri animi carperentur. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. i. Deus est animus per universam rerum naturam commensans et intentus, ex quo etiam animalium omnium vita capiatur. Min. Felix. xix.

According to this system of theology, it was natural ^{Reverence for great natural objects.} for the Celtæ to direct their attention to those objects in which the active principle which diffused itself through the universe seemed most apparently to exert itself. The heavenly bodies, and what philosophers call the elements, were proper emblems of a Divinity, whose chief properties were immensity, activity, and force. It is likely, therefore, that the veneration which the Celtæ shewed, upon every occasion, for the Sun, Moon, Stars, Fire, great collections of water, and for Forests and Mountains, proceeded originally from an opinion that these great objects were the best symbols of the Supreme Being*.

The belief of a Providence, without which no religion ^{Belief in a Providence.} can exist, must, in a peculiar manner, have been the result of that which the Celtæ professed. God was not only the sole agent of the operations of nature, but even the principal part of which nature itself consisted; not so much the giver and preserver of life, as he was that life itself which animated every living thing. From this philosophical system opinions arose among the bulk of the

* Eos (scilicet Barbaros) DINO (in the Celtic language TIEN or TIN signifies Fire) ait nymphodorus sub dio mactare existimantes ignem et aquam Deorum esse simulacra. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. Barbari omnes Deum quidem admittunt signa vero alii alia. Ignem Persiæ quotidianum, voracem, insatiabilem Mons Capadocibus et Deus et juramentum et simulacrum. Palus Mæotis et Tanais Massagetis. Max. Tyrius. Diff. xxxviii.

Celtæ, which almost deviated into polytheism. As it was the business of God to do every thing, so they thought that the chief wisdom of man should consist in penetrating into his designs, and in endeavouring to avert such of his decisions as might be detrimental to themselves. They, for this purpose, not only addressed their prayers and sacrifices to the Divinity through those symbols we have already mentioned, but also used divinations to discover his intentions, and practised charms to turn the natural course of events.

Their pretended Worship of the Heavenly Bodies.

Subaltern
intelligences.

From their attention to the principal objects of nature there gradually arose a belief among the Celtæ that the heavenly bodies and elements, instead of being symbols of the Supreme Divinity, were the residences of subaltern intelligences *. These inferior spirits, being immediately subordinate to God, had access to know his intentions, and it was in their power to forewarn mankind of them by certain signs and tokens. But that divine honours were paid to those beings who resided in different natural objects was certainly the mistake of the writers of Greece and Rome. To prove this seeming paradox we need only have recourse to the

* Thulitæ complures Genios colunt. Aereos, Terrestres, Marinos et alia minora Dæmonia, quæ in aquis fontium et fluminum versari dicuntur. Procop. Goth. lib. ii.

true Celtic names of those heavenly bodies which are universally said to have been objects of worship to the old northern nations.

CRI-AN, or GRIAN, from which ought to be deduced the Apollo Grannius and Grynæus of the ancients, is the appellative by which, in all ages, the Celtæ distinguished the Sun *. The words are manifestly derived from CRI-'EIN, signifying the trembling fire, which, in the Galic language, carries an idea too mean to be applied to a God. RE, Easga, but most commonly

Pretended
worship of
the sun ex-
amined.

* We may venture to affirm that both Virgil and his old commentator Servius were mistaken in their etymon of Grynæus.

His tibi, Grynæi nemoris dicatur origo

Nequis fit lucus, quo se plus jacet Apollo. Virg. Eclog. vi.

A Gryna Mæsiæ civitate, ubi est locus, arboribus multis jucundus, gramine floribusque variis, omni tempore, vestitus. Servius in vi. Eclog. There was some years since a stone dug out of the ruins of the Roman pretenture, between the Scottish firths, inscribed to Apollo Grannius. It was an established maxim of policy among the Romans, rather to adopt the Gods of the nations whom they had subdued, than to propagate their own religion among the conquered. Grynæus and Grannius are evidently derived from the Celtic GRIAN; which is composed of CRI, trembling; and TEIN, fire. In the oblique cases TEIN makes THEIN, which is pronounced EIN, or AN; the consonants which begin the nominative of Celtic words being invariably quiescent in the genitive; so that CRI-EIN, or CRI-AN, literally signifies the *trembling fire*, in allusion to the sun's appearance to the eye. Ossian countenances this etymon of CRIAN in his address to that luminary. 'Stu CRI aig dorfa n'airdiar. When thou TREMBLEST at the gates of the West.

F f

GELLACH,

GELLACH *, are the Celtic names of the moon ; RE-UL, or rather RINNAC, signifies a star. These appellations carry in their meaning a demonstration that the heavenly bodies were not worshipped by our ancestors. GELLACH is literally a pale or wan complexion by an emphasis ; and RINNAC, a point of light ; titles utterly inconsistent with the supposed divinity of the objects which bore them.

The heavenly bodies animated by inferior intelligences.

It is certain that the Celtic nations thought that the heavenly bodies were the residences of intelligences subordinate to God. These spirits were distinguished by the name of AISE †, a word expressive of their feebleness and imbecillity in comparison of DE, the Supreme Divinity. But we have reason to believe, from the fol-

* *Gellach* is derived from GEAL, fair or pale. RE signifies a smooth, and EASGA a wan complexion. RE-UL, a star, seems to be derived from RE-EIL, as it were another moon ; and RINNAC means literally a point or a spark of light. The full moon is also called LUAN, i. e. *full* ; from which the *Luna* of the Romans. Vid. sect. on the Celtic language.

† AISE, generally used in the Galic language with the article D' or T' prefixed to it, signifies a ghost or spirit. AISE is perhaps the original of the Afæ of the northern nations. Duodecim sunt Afæ divinis afflicti honoribus Odinus supremus et antiquissimus Afarum. Edda Island. DE ALMEGTE-AAS, in the language of Scandinavia, signifies Almighty God. It is remarkable that the Highlanders, when they speak contemptuously of the person and parts of any man, call him An D'AISE, or the ghost ; which is an argument that their ancestors did not worship the AISE, or the spirits which resided in the elements.

lowing

lowing circumstance, that GRIAN-AIS, or the Spirit of the Sun, was anciently peculiarly honoured in Caledonia. In the confines between Badenoch and Strathspey, two districts in the county of Inverness, there is a very extensive heath which goes by the name of SLIA GRIAN-AIS, or the Plain of the Spirit of the Sun. The river Spey, which is there deep and rapid, borders this heath on the South; and a chain of craggy mountains, in the form of a half moon, interspersed with precipices and a few naked trees, confines it on the North. It is entered towards the West by a narrow pass formed by the near approach of the Spey and the mountains; and deep woods anciently skirted it on the eastern side.

This sequestered heath swells towards the center into several eminences, upon the most of which there are still to be seen several circles of stone, resembling, though in miniature, the famous Stone Henge on the plain of Salisbury. These monuments of antiquity, standing in a place altogether unfit for culture, have received no injury but from time, and are consequently more entire than any other of the same kind in the Highlands and Scottish Isles. The diameter of the area of the largest is not quite two hundred feet, and in the center of each arises a conical pile of loose stones. Concerning the use to which these rude fabrics were anciently converted there remains not the vestige of a tradition

A place of
worship.

tradition in that country; but the name which the place bears, demonstrates that they were erected in honour of the Sun.

Their superstitious Ceremonies.

Reverence
for inferior
intelli-
gences;

Among an unmixed race of men, like the inhabitants of the mountains of Scotland, the superstitions and prejudices of their ancestors are handed down without much alteration through a long series of ages. A stranger, in hearing the ancient Scots talking with great respect of the Spirit of the Sun, the Spirit of the Mountain, the Spirit of the Storm, and the Genius of the Sea, might be tempted to think, that, like what is reported of their Celtic ancestors, they still paid divine honours to the intelligences who were thought to reside in the elements. If he saw them avoiding to bathe themselves in a spring, and never mentioning the water of rivers without prefixing to it the epithet of excellent*; if, above all, they should be seen, according to an annual custom, not hitherto altogether disused, kindling a fire on a rock on the first of May in honour of the Sun, and giving to that luminary the titles of DAY †, and

* FIR-UISE, or *genuine water*, in opposition to standing pools, or small brooks, which are simply called UISE.

† AN LO, *the day*; by way of eminence.

the *light of heaven* ‡, and avoiding to call him by his proper, though derogatory name, of GRIAN, any man might conclude that they still remained in the shades of heathenish ignorance and superstition.

But should the ancient Scots themselves be asked why they shew such a superstitious regard for natural objects, they would reply, That it is by no means proper to bathe themselves in a fountain, lest the *elegant** Genius that resides in it should be offended and remove to another place ; and that the epithet of *excellent* ought in propriety to be prefixed to the water of rivers on account of its beauty, activity, and force. “ We kindle,” say they, “ the BEL-TEIN †, or the Fire of the Rock, on the first of May, to welcome the Sun after his travels behind the clouds and tempests of the dark months §; and it would be highly indecent not to

‡ SOLUS NEAV, *the light of heaven*. The Roman Sol is perhaps derived from the Celtic SOLUS, which signifies light.

* Min-thais in Tobair.

† BEL-TEIN is a composition of BEL, a rock ; and TEIN, fire. The first day of May is called *La Bel tein*, or the day of the fire on the rock.

§ The Armoricans and the Gael of North Britain call the winter, and particularly the month of November, MIS-DU, or the black month; because in that season the sky is generally obscured with clouds. Lhuyd. Archæ. Brit.

honour

honour him with titles of dignity, when we meet him with joy on our hills."

Ceremony
of

It is however certain that the Caledonians kindled the BEL-TEIN more for the purposes of divination and incantment than as a mark of their respect for the Sun. The ceremonies still used by the lower sort of people, for such only light up the BEL-TEIN in our days, are evident remains of the superstitions of the Druidical system of religion. It was a custom, till of late years, among the inhabitants of whole districts in the North of Scotland, to extinguish all their fires on the evening of the last day of April. Early on the first day of May some select persons met in a private place, and, by turning with great rapidity an augre in a dry piece of wood, extracted what they called the *forced* or *elementary* fire*. Some active young men, one from each hamlet in the district, attended at a distance, and, as soon as the *forced fire* was kindled, carried part of it with great expedition and joy to their respective villages. The people immediately assembled upon some rock or eminence, lighted the BEL-TEIN, and spent the day in mirth and festivity.

The ceremonies used upon this occasion were founded upon opinions of which there is now no trace remain-

* TEIN-EGIN, or the forced fire. The practice of extracting the TEIN-EGIN is not yet altogether discontinued among the ignorant vulgar.

ing in tradition. It is in vain to inquire why those ^{the Beltein,} ignorant persons, who are addicted to this superstition, throw into the BEL-TEIN a portion of those things upon which they regale themselves on the first of May. Neither is there any reason assigned by them for decking branches of mountain-ash * with wreaths of flowers and heath, which they carry, with shouts and gestures of joy, in procession three times round the fire. These branches they afterwards depofite above the doors of their respective dwellings, where they remain till they give place to others in the succeeding year.

These and many other extraordinary and superstitious ceremonies, used upon this occasion, have, it is certain, much of the appearance of religious worship paid by the ancient Caledonians to the Sun. The rude monuments which, as we have already observed, bear still the name of GRIAN-AIS, seem, at first sight, to put the certainty of the existence of polytheism among the Celtæ beyond any dispute; but we may venture to affirm, that neither of those circumstances furnishes a conclusive argument upon that head.

* Clou-än-BEL-TEIN, i. e. the split branch of the fire on the rock. Those who have ingrafted Christianity on many of the superstitions of their remotest ancestors have now converted the Clou-än-BEL-TEIN into a cross.

Their Divinations.

Divina-
tions, sacri-
fices, and
inchant-
ments.

Though it was a fundamental maxim in the opinions of the Celtæ concerning God, that he was the sole agent in all the operations of nature, they were far from supposing that his decrees were predetermined and unalterable. Their first business, therefore, as has been already observed, was to penetrate into his designs by means of divination, and afterwards to endeavour to avert from themselves such of those designs as might be detrimental, by the assistance of sacrifice, prayers, and incantment. The element of Fire, and above all, the Sun, which is the source of it, were objects in which the soul of the world seemed most manifestly to exert itself; and consequently they, more than any other part of nature, employed the attention of a superstitious people: and this attention soon degenerated into those ridiculous ceremonies which we have just described. As such circular piles of stones as we have already mentioned are only to be met with on plains, we may conclude that they were only artificial eminences raised for the BEL-TEIN, in places where *rocks*, from which it originally derived its name, could not be found.

Reflections.

The Sun
not worship-
ped by our
ancestors;

We have in our hands a positive proof that the Sun was not an object of worship among the ancient Caledonians.

nians. A poem, the composition of which is placed beyond the introduction of Christianity into the North Britain, has preserved the real opinion of our Ancestors concerning the Spirit of the Sun. The subject of the piece is a war between two Scandinavian chiefs, in which one of them, having the misfortune to fall into the hands of his enemy, gives occasion to the following simile :

“ Seized amidst the shock of armies—Clugar struggled in all his thongs, and rolled in wrath his red eyes.—Thus hovering over the bleak waves of the North,—when GRIAN-AIS sleeps, wrapt in his cloud, a sudden frost comes on all his wings.—He struggles, he loudly roars.—Wide over the broad regions of snow is heard a voice !—His large red eyes flame through the dusky evening : The Cruglians shrink to their caves *.”

Had GRIAN-AIS been a God in Caledonia, it is not probable that a bard of that country would have treated nor objects of nature.

* Cealta measc comhsri nan Sloi’
Do Spairn, CLUGAIR a neart nan ial.
Thionta ’huil dearg bholtach na chean.
Marfin, air Tón frioghach, fa noir
Nuar Shuanas GRIAN-AISE na nial fein
Thic reöda air itta gu tean.
’Sé spairn ’Sé sgarta gu geur.
Fadda ’hál air fhuar thír ant’ ’heachda,
Chualas gu’—A dhearg—huil mhór;
Laffa roi smál dubrha na h’oicha.
Dhruit fiol Chrugli do charric na ncós.

G g

him

him with so little respect. The terrors which the poet has placed around him, serve only to heighten the ridicule of his distress. The whole, in short, is absolutely inconsistent with that prescience and power, which are attributes necessary to constitute a Divinity. But if the intelligence who resided in the Sun, and who was peculiarly honoured by an unmixed branch of the Celtæ, could not, in their opinion, extricate his wings from the effects of a frosty evening, we may justly conclude, that the spirits placed in less dignified objects of nature, were actually what they were called, AISE, or feeble shadows*.

General re-
flections.

To collect into one point of view the opinion of the Celtic nations upon the subject of religion, they originally believed that the Supreme Divinity DE, as the soul of the world, pervaded the whole body of nature. This philosophical idea degenerated, among the bulk of the people, into a supposition that some objects of nature, instead of being animated by God himself, became the residences of spirits, who, in subordination to him, di-

* The Celtic AISE is the fountain from which we ought to derive the *Aisoi dii* and *ÆSAR* of the ancient Etrurians, as well as the *ANSES* or *ASES* of the northern nations.

Æisoi dii apud Tyrrhenos. Hesych. Quod *ÆSAR* Etruscâ linguâ Deus vocatur. Sueton. August. cap. 97.

Gothi procures suos. Non puros homines sed semideos, id est *ANSES* vocaverunt. Jornand. Goth.

rected

rected the operations of their respective portions of matter. To these intelligences they gave the name of AISE, or *shadowy ghosts*, expressive of the vast disproportion between them and that Being who was the source from which these spirits themselves, as well as every thing possessed of life and motion, derived their existence. It is, upon the whole, highly probable, that the rites which some of the ancients took for sacrifices to subordinate Divinities among the Celtæ, were no other than ceremonies used by those Barbarians for the purpose of their pretended divinations and enchantments.

I M M O R T A L I T Y

O F T H E

S O U L.

General Reflections.

The doctrine not
coeval with
man.

THE doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul is not coeval with man. Whole nations have come down into the region of true history without having placed a tenet so essential to religion in their faith. The infancy of society is not favourable to speculative inquiry. Mankind, in their rudest state, scarce ever extend their ideas beyond objects of sense. They perceive, when death suspends the functions of the body, that the man ceases to act and to feel; and the subsequent dissolution of his whole frame establishes the supposition, that his being is at an end. Nature herself confirms the opinion from every quarter by symptoms of decay. The oak that has fallen by accident or age, resumes not its place on the mountain; and the flower that withers in autumn, revives not with the returning year.

Philosophy

Philosophy only begins where the first stage of society ends. As long as bodily labour is the only means of acquiring the necessaries of life, man has neither time or inclination to cultivate the mind. Speculative inquiry is the first fruits of the leisure which civil life procures for individuals; but it is extremely doubtful whether the Immortality of the Soul is among the first truths which philosophers have rescued from ignorance and barbarity.

Unknown
in the first
stage of so-
ciety.

The most polished nation of antiquity was late in its reception of the doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul. The Greeks, till the days of Thales *, had formed no idea at all concerning a future state. It is even likely that Thales himself, who was the first dignified with the title of Wise †, came too early into the world for the commencement of that opinion. Pherecydes of Scyros ‡, according to the best authority, first introduced the doctrine about the fifty-fifth olympiad; and his disciple Pythagoras greatly contributed to confirm the belief of another state by the reputation of his philosophy ||. It is however

Æra of its
being first
broached in
Greece.

* Thales PRIMUS dixit animas esse immortales. Chærilus Poeta.

† Primus nomine Sapientis ornatus. Suidas.

‡ Pherecydes Scyros primus dixit animos hominum esse sempiternos. Cic. Tusc.

|| Hanc opinionem Pythagoras ejus (scilicet Pherecydis) discipulus maximè confirmavit. Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. i.

however certain, that few of the Greeks gave into the opinion of Pythagoras and his master; for Pausanias * insinuates, that even in the days of Plato only some of the Greeks believed that the Soul of Man was Immortal.

Merely speculative

The Immortality of the Soul was, upon the whole, a doctrine merely speculative among the ancient Greeks. Their Poets held it forth in their compositions; their philosophers inculcated it upon their disciples; it was a theme of disputation in the schools; but the bulk of the people did not look upon it as a truth necessary to religion: and it is even a matter of doubt whether those philosophers who affirm that virtue must be loved on its own account, did not, in that instance, forget what they had advanced in other places concerning the rewards which await the good in another life.

among the ancient Greeks.

This scepticism of the Greeks in so essential a point of religion may appear strange, to men who have not examined into the origin of that illustrious nation. The new people who chased the Pelasgi † from Peloponnesus

Πυθαγορας ὁ Σάμιος, και τινες ἑτεροι τῶν παλαιῶν φυσικῶν ἀπεφῆναντο τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπάρχειν ἀθάνατους. Diod. Sicul. lib. xviii.

* Pausan. Messeniac. xxxii.

† See the State of Ancient Europe at the beginning of the Introduction.

and

and the Islands of the Archipelago, came from the coast of Phœnicia and the mouths of the Nile. They carried into Greece the Gods of Syria and of Egypt, but they could not carry along with them a doctrine which was not received in those countries at the time of their migration. It is a matter of great doubt with many, whether the Jews themselves admitted, in an early period, the Immortality of the Soul among the articles of their faith. This much is certain, that their lawgiver and prophets, if they speak at all, speak very obscurely, as well as undecisively, upon the subject*.

Opinions of the Celtæ on that Subject.

The Greeks and Romans affected to degrade, with the name of Barbarians, all the nations beyond the pale of their own respective dominions. The luxurious Persian, in the midst of the pomp and grandeur of the East, was not free from the ignominy of this injurious appellation, no more than the Scythian in the wild forests of the West. We have however some reason to conclude, that, in an early æra, there was little foundation in fact for the distinction which Greece and Rome made between themselves and the rest of the world. The superiority of the Persians in the arts of civil life was manifest and acknowledged; and philosophy itself took its rise among

* Bishop of Gloucester's Divine Legation of Moses.

those whom the polished nations of antiquity distinguished by the name of Barbarians*.

rose first
among the
northern
nations.

We discover by the first dawn of history which rose on the northern nations, that, though they had not made any considerable progress in the arts of civil life, they had turned their attention to philosophical inquiry†. An order of men separated from the body of the people by the sacredness of their character, had extended their speculations to the Being and Attributes of a God. We have, in a preceding section, seen that the primary ideas of the Druids concerning the Divinity were the same with those of the ancient Brahmins of the East; “that
“ God is the GREAT SOUL, who animates the whole
“ body of nature‡.”

* Philosophiam a Barbaris initium sumsisse asserunt. Diog. Laert.

† Philosophia olim floruit apud Barbaros, per gentes resplendens. Postea autem etiam venit ad Græcos. Ei autem profuerunt Gallorum Druidæ. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. Eam spem quæ est post mortem, non solum persequuntur qui *barbaram philosophiam* agnoscunt, &c. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. iv. *Celtarum* ii qui *philosophati* sunt. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i.

‡ Pirum Attima, or the GREAT SOUL, who is immaterial, one, indivisible, eternal, and indivisible, possessing omniscience, rest, will, and power. Dow's Dissert. on the religion of the Indians.—It is a fundamental article in the Hindoo faith, that God is the Soul of the world—and is consequently diffused through all nature. Dow's Dissert. &c. —Conditor et administrator mundi deus universum eum pervadit. Strabo, lib. xv.

The Druids, from the elevated inquiry into the existence of the GREAT SOUL, descended into an examination of the nature and permanency of that active principle which animates the human body. In their researches upon this subject they departed from the opinion of the ancient Brahmins, who supposed that the soul of man was a portion of that irresistible principle which pervades and moves the immense body of the Universe*. The ideas of the Druids concerning God were certainly the same with those of the eastern philosophers; but they placed in the human frame a distinct intelligence capable of happiness, and subject to misery. The Immortality of the Soul was the first

The Druids
taught the
Immortality
of the Soul.

* This was the opinion of the emperor Julian, who probably borrowed it from the Gauls, among whom he resided for many years.—*Julianus nocte dimidiata exurgens occulte Mercurio supplicabat, quem mundi velociorem sensum esse, motum mentium fuscitantem Theologicæ prodidere doctrinæ. Amm. Marcell. lib. xvi.*—*Qui universam mundi naturam amplectitur. Dionys. Halic. lib. i.*—*Deus est animus per naturam rerum omnem intentus et commeans, ex quo nostri animi carperentur. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. i.*—*Deus est animus per universam rerum naturam commeans et intentus, ex quo etiam animalium omnium vita capiatur. Min. Felix, c. 19.*—*Animus per omnes mundi partes commeans et diffusus, ex quo omnia quæ nascuntur animalia vitam capiunt. Salv. de Provid. lib. i.*—*Definiverunt quod esset Deus, animus per universas mundi partes, omnemque naturam commeans atque diffusus, ex quo omnia quæ nascuntur vitam capiunt. Lactan. Instit. lib. i.*

H h

principle

principle of their faith†, and the great hinge upon which the religion of the ancient British, as well as of the other branches of the Celtic stock, originally turned. Upon this doctrine, which was with eagerness inculcated by the Druids, was founded those characteristical manners which distinguished the northern Celtæ from the polished nations of antiquity.

Their opinions concerning a future state,

In the infancy of philosophy it is difficult for the human mind to form any distinct idea of the existence of an immaterial Being. We are not, therefore, to wonder that the northern nations carried the business and pastimes, though not the miseries, of this life into their future state. Without being acquainted with the PALINGENESIA of Pythagoras* and his followers, they

† Unum ex iis quæ præcipiunt in vulgus effluit eternas esse animas, vitamque alteram ad manes. Pomp. Mela, lib. iii.—Επισχύει γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Πυθαγόρου λόγος, ὅτι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀθάνατους εἶναι συμβέβηκε. Diod. Sic. lib. v.—Immortales autem dicunt hi (Druidæ) animos esse. Strabo, lib. iv.—Inter hos Druidæ ingeniis celsiores despectantes humana, pronuntiarunt animas immortales. Amm. Marcell. lib. xv.—Unum illud infitum erat priscis illis quos Cascos appellat (ille enim de Celtis fuere) Ennius, esse in morte sensum neque excessu vitæ sic deleri hominem. Cicer. Tusc. Quæst. lib. i.—Imprimis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas. Cæsar, l. vi. c. 14.

* Pythagoras non μετεμψύχωσιν sed παλινγενεσίαν esse dicit, hoc est redire, sed post tempus. Serv. ad Æneid. iii.—Sententia de παλινγενεσία antiqua est. Primus dogma proposuit Pythagoras. Auct. Vet.

clothed

clothed departed spirits with bodies not subject to decay; and they were singular in the opinion, that the soul left all unhappiness behind it when it took its flight from this world.

But though the future state of the ancient Britons was distinguished by a total absence of misery, its pleasures were of different degrees. The hero and soldier who died in war enjoyed a more elevated felicity; but the peaceable and unwarlike were not, as among the Scandinavians, precipitated into a state of absolute misery. Such was the ignorance of the Celtæ of what we call Hell, that they had no name for any such place in their language. This circumstance divested Death of all his terrors; and to it we ought to ascribe the unparalleled valour of the Celtic nations †.

The pleasing prospect which a future state presented to our ancestors, rendered, by its contrast, the present life very miserable in their eyes. They wept over the birth of their children * as entering into a scene of misfortunes, and full of felicity.

† Παρ' ἑδὲν τιθέμενοι τον του βίου τηλευτην. Diod. Sic. lib. v.—
Θανάτου καβαφρονήσαι δὲ ἐλπίδα ἀναβιώσεως. Appian. de antiquis Germanis.

* Lugentur apud quosdam puerperia, natiq̄ue deslentur. Pomp. Mela, l. ii.—Natales hominum flebiliter, exequias cum hilaritate celebrant. Val. Max. lib. ii.—Apud plurimos luctuosa sunt puerperia,

fortunes, and they accompanied their dead with joy to the grave, as having changed a state of unhappiness for one of perfect felicity. Peculiarly fortunate in their error, if the opinion deserves so harsh a name, they converted into means of joy what other systems of religion have rendered gloomy and melancholy. Death, with them, was the dark point which separated a life short and miserable, from a long and happy immortality in another world ‡.

The Paradise of the ancient British Nations.

The Para-
dise of the
Celtæ

The ancient inhabitants of Britain, to enjoy the felicity of a future state, ascended not into heaven with the

denique recentem natum fletu accipit. Controversum læta sunt funera, adeo ut exemptos gaudio prosequantur. Solin. xv.

Τὸν μὲν γινόμενον περιζόμενοι οἱ προσήκουσες ὀλοφύρονται, ὅσα μιν δεῖ, ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο, ἀναπλήσαι κακὰ ἀνοιγεόμενοι τὰ ἀνθρωπῆϊα πάντα πάθεα· τον δ' ἀπογινόμενον, παίζοντες τε καὶ ἠδόμενοι, γῇ καλύπτουσιν, ἐπιλέγοντες ὅσων κακῶν ἐξαπαλλαχθεὶς, ἔστι ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίῃ. Herodot. lib. v.

‡ Vobis aucloribus, umbræ,
Non tacitas Erebi fedes, Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt; regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio: longæ (canitis si cognita) vitæ
Mors media est. Certe populi, quos despicit Arctos,
Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum,
Maximus haud urget leti metus. Inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris animæque capaces
Mortis.

Lucan. lib. i.

Christians,

Christians, nor dived under the ocean with the poets of Greece and Rome. Their FLATH-INNIS, or NOBLE ISLAND *, lay, surrounded with tempest, in the Western Ocean †. Their brethren on the continent, in an early period, placed the seats of the Blessed in Britain; but the Britons themselves, as we shall have occasion to shew, removed their Fortunate Island very far to the west of their own country.

The ancients are extremely imperfect in their accounts of the pleasures which the Celtæ enjoyed in their future state; neither does the Islandic Edda, now in the hands of the learned supply that defect. The nations to the North and East of the Baltic were a very different race of men from the more ancient inhabitants of the rest of Europe. It was after the tyranny and civilization of the Romans had broken the spirit, and destroyed the virtues of the Celtæ, that the Sarmatic Tartars of the East and North advanced into the South, and established their opinions in the regions which they subdued. It is therefore in vain to trace the speculative ideas of the ancient Britons, concerning their NOBLE ISLAND, in the legends of Odin's Hall.

different
from that of
the North.

* Flath-innis, or *noble-Island*, is the only name in the Gaëlic language for the Heaven of the Christians. The appellation speaks for itself.

† Beatorum insulæ dicuntur esse in occidentali oceano. Eustath. ad Dion. Perieg.

On this subject we must derive our intelligence from a domestic source. The Scottish bards, with their compositions in verse, conveyed to posterity some poetical romances in prose. One of those tales, which tradition has brought down to our times, relates to the Paradise of the Celtic nations. The following extract will contribute to illustrate the detached informations which the writers of Greece and Rome have transmitted from antiquity, concerning the Fortunate Islands.

“ In former days,” says the bard, “ there lived in SKERR * a magician of high renown †. The blast of wind waited for his commands at the gate ; he rode the tempest, and the troubled wave offered itself as a pillow for his repose. His eye followed the sun by day ; his thoughts travelled from star to star in the season of night ‡. He thirsted after things unseen. He fished

* *Skerr* signifies in general a rock in the ocean.

† A magician is called DRUIDH in the Gaëlic language. This word is the original of the Druidæ of the ancients. It seems to be a primitive, though some have traced its etymon in *Dru*, or rather *Daru*, an Oak.

‡ Φιλόσοφοι τὲ τινες εἰσὶ καὶ θεολόγοι περιτλῶς τιμώμενοι, οὓς Δρουΐδας ὀνομαζουσι. Diod. Sic. lib. v.—*Multa præterea de sideribus, atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de Deorum immortalium vi atque potestate disputant. Cæsar, l. vi.—Inter hos Druidæ ingeniis celsiores, questionibus occultarum rerum altarumque erecti, et despectantes humana. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xv. —Hi terræ mundique magnitudinem et formam, motus cæli ac siderum ac quid Dii velint, scire profitentur. Pomp. Mela, lib. iii.*

over

over the narrow circle which surrounded his days. He often sat in silence beneath the sound of his groves; and he blamed the careless billows that rolled between him and the *green Isle of the West* *.

“ One day, as the magician of SKERR sat thoughtful upon a rock, a storm arose on the sea: A cloud, under whose squally skirts the foaming waters complained, rushed suddenly into the bay; and from its dark womb at once issued forth a boat with its white sails bent to the wind, and hung round with a hundred moving oars: But it was destitute of mariners; itself seeming to live and move. An unusual terror seized the aged magician: He heard a voice though he saw no human form. “ Arise, “ behold the boat of the heroes—arise, and see the “ green Isle of those who have passed away †.”

“ He felt a strange force on his limbs: he saw no person; but he moved to the boat. The wind immediately changed. In the bosom of the cloud he sailed away. Seven days gleamed faintly round him; seven nights added their gloom to his darkness. His ears were stunned with shrill voices. The dull murmur of winds passed him on either side. He slept not; but his eyes were not heavy: he ate not, but he was not hungry. On

* Celebratæ illæ beatorum insulæ dicuntur esse in occidentali oceano. Eustath. ad Dion. Perieg.

† Vid. Plutarch. de Orac. Defect.

the eighth day the waves swelled into mountains; the boat was rocked violently from side to side. The darkness thickened around him, when a thousand voices at once cried aloud, "The Isle, the Isle." The billows opened wide before him; the calm land of the departed rushed in light on his eyes*.

"It was not a light that dazzled, but a pure, distinguishing, and placid light, which called forth every object to view in their most perfect form. The Isle spread large before him like a pleasing dream of the soul; where distance fades not on the sight; where nearness fatigues not the eye. It had its gentle-sloping hills of green; nor did they wholly want their clouds: But the clouds were bright and transparent; and each involved in its bosom the source of a stream; a beauteous stream, which, wandering down the steep, was like the faint notes of the half-touched harp to the distant ear. The valleys were open, and free to the ocean; trees loaded with leaves, which scarcely waved to the light breeze, were scattered on the green declivities and rising grounds.

* There is a great similarity between this passage and the romantic description given by Procopius of those whose office it was to transport departed souls to the Celtic Paradise.—*Narrant indignæ, se id habere munus, ut in orbem, sua quisque vice, deducunt animas. Hi, primis tenebris dant se somno, rei præsidem expectantes. Intempesta nocte pulsari fores, seque ad opus, obscura voce, acciri audiunt. Ad littus extemplo vadunt, ignari qua vi impellantur sed tamen coacti. Paratas ibi Scaphas vident, hominibus penitus vacuas, &c. Procop. Goth. lib. iv.*

The

The rude winds walked not on the mountain ; no storm took its course through the sky. All was calm and bright ; the pure sun of autumn shone from his blue sky on the fields. He hastened not to the West for repose ; nor was he seen to rise from the East. He sits in his mid-day height, and looks obliquely on the Noble Isle.

“ In each valley is its slow-moving stream. The pure waters swell over the banks, yet abstain from the fields. The showers disturb them not ; nor are they lessened by the heat of the sun. On the rising hill are the halls of the departed—the high-roofed dwellings of the heroes of old.”

Thus far is the Tale worthy of translation. Incoherent fables succeed the description ; and the employments of the Blessed in their Fortunate Island differ, in no respect, from the amusements of the most uncultivated inhabitants of a mountainous country. The bodies with which the bard clothes his departed heroes have more grace, and are more active, than those they left behind them in this world ; and he describes with peculiar elegance the beauty of the women. After a very transient vision of the NOBLE ISLE, the magician of Skerr returned home in the same miraculous manner in which he had been carried across the ocean. But though in his own mind he comprehended his absence

General
remarks.

in sixteen days, he found every thing changed at his return. No trace of his habitation remained; he knew not the face of any man. He was even forced, says the Tale, to make enquiry concerning himself; and tradition had scarcely carried down his name to the generation who then possessed the Island of SKERR. Two complete centuries had passed away since his departure; so imperceptible was the flight of time in the felicity of the Celtic Paradise.

The souls of
the departed
visited at
times this
world.

The departed, according to the Tale, retained in the midst of their happiness a warm affection for their country and living friends. They sometimes visited the first; and by the latter, as the bard expresses it, they were transiently seen in the hour of peril, and especially on the near approach of death. It was then that at midnight the death-devoted, to use the words of the Tale, were suddenly awakened by a strange knocking at their gates; it was then that they heard the undistinct voice of their departed friends calling them away to the Noble Isle*.—"A sudden joy," continues the Author of the Tale, "rushed in upon their minds; and that pleasing melancholy, which looks forward to happiness in a distant land." It is worthy of being remarked, that, though those who died a natural death were not excluded from the Celtic Paradise, the

* Intempesta nocte pulsari fores, seque, obscura voce, acciri audiunt.
Procop. Goth. lib. iv.

more pleasant divisions of the FLATH-INNIS, or NOBLE ISLE, were assigned to men who fell in war.

The animated descriptions which the Druids and Bards gave of FLATH-INNIS, or the NOBLE ISLE, rendered the Celtic nations careless about a transitory life which must terminate in happiness *. They threw away with indifference the burden when it galled them, and became in some measure independent of fortune in her worst extreme. They met death in the field with elevation and joy of mind †; they fought after him with eagerness when oppressed with disease, or worn out with age ‡. To the same cause, and not to a want of docility of disposition and temper, we ought to ascribe their small progress in the arts of civil life, before the Phœnicians and Greeks, with their commerce, and the Romans, with their arms, introduced a taste for luxury into the regions of the West and North.

Cause of the contempt of death among our ancestors.

* Germani mortem contemnunt quia credunt se revicturos. Appian. Celt.—Germani contemptu mortis cæteris validiores. Hegesipp. lib. ii.—Getæ cum se non mori, sed aliò migrare existiment, multo paratiores ad subeunda pericula. Julian. Cæsar de Trajano.

† Cimbri in acie exultabant, tanquam gloriose et feliciter vita excessuri. Valer. Max. lib. ii.

‡ Nec senibus nec ægrotis fas erat vitam producere. Procop. lib. iii.

Prodiga gens animæ

Impatiens ævi spernit novisse senectam,

Et fati modus in dextra est.

Silius Italic. lib. i.

Consummatamque senectam

Non ferro finire pudet.

Sidon. Apoll. v. 43.

C H A R A C T E R,
M A N N E R S, A N D C U S T O M S
O F T H E
A N C I E N T B R I T I S H N A T I O N S.

Their Character.

Cause of variety in the characters of nations.

THE principles of reason are so unchangeable in themselves, that were men to form their actions upon them there would be little diversity in the character of nations. The speculative opinions of the Brahmin on the banks of the Ganges differed not materially from those of the Druid on the Rhine; but there was no similitude between the ignorant Indian and the illiterate German. The bulk of mankind deliver themselves over to the direction of their passions; climate, constitution of body, mode of education, manner of life, and a thousand circumstances of less importance than these, give rise to those peculiarities which distinguish individuals from one another, and diversify the characters of nations. Without this variety, history would languish in the sameness of events; for the motives which produce human actions furnish more amusement in narration than the actions themselves.

The

The Ancient British Nations, like their Celtic brethren on the continent, were fierce, passionate, and impetuous; sudden in resolution, sanguine in expectation, impatient under disappointment. This warmth and vehemence of temper proceeded, according to the ancients, from the full habit of their bodies, and the abundance of their blood*; and these circumstances naturally led to a careless boldness, which threw disgrace on their conduct, when it displayed their courage. War, which was their chief business, was their great warlike, amusement. They were in love † with slaughter, and, as Cæsar observes, born as it were in the midst of battle and depredation‡. Public tranquillity by no means suited their disposition; they seemed to be of the same opinion with the king of Thrace, who said, that he appeared to himself no better than his groom when he was not engaged in war.

With all this violence and fierceness of disposition, they were in private life plain and upright in their dealings, and far removed from the deceit and duplicity of modern times §. They were always open,

* Septentrionales populi largo sanguine redundantur. Veget. i. —
Sub septentrionibus nutriuntur gentes largo sanguine. Vitruv. vi.

† Ἐἰσι δὲ μαχιμώτατοί τε καὶ φονικώτατοι. Herodian. lib. iii.

‡ In bello latrociniisque nati. Cæsar, lib. vi.

§ Τοῖς δὲ ἤθεσιν ἀπλοῦς εἶναι, καὶ πολὺ κεχωρισμένους τῆς τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων ἀγχινοίας καὶ πονηρίας. Diod. Sic. lib. v.

fickle,

precipitate,

sincere, and undisguised; simple, good-natured, and void of malignity *; and though cruel, and sometimes barbarous, to their enemies, they were kind and compassionate to the suppliant and unfortunate †. Fickleness and levity were the natural consequences of their warmth of disposition. Men of vivacity, and subject to passion, are, for the most part, inconstant, changeable, rash, curious, credulous, and proud. All the branches of the Celtic nation determined suddenly upon affairs of the greatest moment, and placed the foundation of resolutions of the last importance upon uncertain rumours, and vague reports ‡. Their violence in rushing into new projects could be only equalled by their want of perseverance in any plan. The tide seldom ran long in one direction; it was always with them a precipitate ebb, or a tempestuous flow.

curious,

The curiosity which so remarkably distinguished the ancient Gauls has come down with their posterity to the present times. The Highlanders of North Britain are so fond of news, that even the poorest labourers,

* Galli homines aperti, minimèque insidiosi, qui per virtutem, non per dolum dimicare consueverunt. Cæsar de Bello Afric.—Ταχὺ πρὸς μάχην ἄλλως δὲ ἀπλοὴν καὶ οὐ κακίηθες. Strabo, lib. iii.

† Hospitibus boni mitesque supplicibus. Pomp. Mela, lib. iii.

‡ Rumoribus atque auditionibus permoti, de summis sæpe rebus consilia ineunt. Cæsar, lib. iv.

upon

upon seeing at a great distance a traveller on the road, often quit their work, run to meet him, and, with great earnestness, intreat him to tell them something concerning the state of public affairs. If he is communicative they accompany him perhaps for many miles, and they seem to think themselves well recompensed for the time they have lost by the intelligence which they have received *.

Our ancestors were hospitable beyond example. To ^{hospitable} receive the stranger with cheerfulness, to lodge him in their best apartments, to treat him with their greatest delicacies, was a law which custom had rendered inviolable and universal †. It was not till after he signified his desire of pursuing his journey that they inquired about his country and his name ‡; and they excused this piece of curiosity in themselves by saying, that they were anxious to know some few particulars concerning a person who had so much honoured their habitation with his presence. When they saw a traveller upon the

* Est autem hoc Gallicæ consuetudinis, ut et viatores, etiam invitos, consistere cogant, et quod quisque eorum de quaque re audierit aut cognoverit, quærant. Cæsar, lib. iv.

† Mortalium omnium erga hospites humanissimi. Procop. de Ædif. lib. iii.

‡ Καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ξένοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς εὐωχίας καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπερωτῶσι τίνες εἰσὶ, καὶ τίνων ἔχουσιν. Diod. Sic. v.

road they ran to meet him, and, with an earnestness that bordered on compulsion, invited him to their houses; and there was often a kind of jealousy and contention between neighbours about the honour of being the first who should entertain the stranger. The decision in these disputes was left to the traveller; and the disappointed person used to say, that God was favourable to him who had the good fortune to be preferred*. At night they never shut their gates †, “left the traveller, say they, should come and be disappointed, when we are asleep, and not ready to invite or receive him ‡.”

proud, and
haughty.

The haughtiness, self-conceit, and national pride which the ancients found among the Celtæ ||, was not peculiar to that race of men. The vulgar of every country have a high opinion of their own nation. National pride is, at the worst, an useful weakness; for men who think meanly of themselves are seldom capable of great

* Τοῖς δ' ἤθεσι πρὸς μὴ τοὺς κακοῦργους καὶ πολεμίους ὑπάρχουσιν ὦμοι, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ξένοῦς ἐπικεικῆς καὶ φιλόανθρωποι. Τοῦς γὰρ ἐπιδημήσαντας ξενοῦς ἅπαντας ἀξιοῦσι παρ' αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς καταλύσεις καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμιλλώνται περὶ ξενίας, οἷς δ' ἂν οἱ ξένοι συνακολουθήσωσι, τοῦτους ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ἡγῶνται. Diod. Sic. lib. v.

† Celtæ januas ædium nunquam claudunt. Agath. lib. i.

‡ Hospites violare, fas non putant, qui quæqua de causâ ad eos venerunt, ab injuria prohibent, sanctosque habent; iis omnium domus patent, victusque communicatur. Cæsar, lib. vi.

|| Celtæ magna de seipsis sentiunt. Arrian. Exped. Alex.

. actions.

actions.—These are the most striking outlines of the character of the ancient inhabitants of Britain. To any man acquainted with the nature and genius of the unmixed part of the posterity of the Celtæ, in the northern division of the Island, the authorities at the bottom of the page are superfluous. He will be convinced of the justness of the description, by the observations he himself has made; and he will be, at the same time, surprised to see the accurate exactness, with which the writers of Rome have drawn the portrait of our ancestors.

Their Amusements and Diversions.

The British branch of the Celtæ, like the great stock from which they sprung, were, almost in every thing, on the extreme. They placed their chief happiness in the most perfect inactivity, or in the most violent exertions of the body. Wedded to the strange opinion, that all labour, whether of body or mind, was mean and disgraceful, they dedicated the whole time that remained to them from war and the chase, to sleep, and a very few domestic diversions *.

Amuse-
ments of the
ancient Bri-
tons

To feast together, and to regale themselves, held the first place in their amusements. Every slight occurrence was seized upon with eagerness, as an excuse for conviviality and

consisted in
feasts

* Plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno. Tacit. Germ. lib. xv.

public entertainment. Without the banquet nothing important was ever done. The feast was, as it were, the seal which gave validity to public conventions, the sanction which rendered inviolable private friendships. The name-day of every person in a family was kept, marriages were celebrated with uncommon festivity, and funerals solemnized with lavish hospitality. The love of a reputation for hospitality was carried so far, that the great men in the community often pitched tents and built huts on the public road, for the pleasure of entertaining indiscriminately all those who passed that way †. These entertainments have been known to last a whole year; and the hospitable chief, not content with giving a general invitation to all the members of the state, placed parties of men on the by-roads of the country, to bring passengers, by a kind of compulsion, to his table.

and public

The dishes at those feasts were not numerous, and there was little variety in the cookery. Fish of various kinds, the flesh of tame animals, wild fowl, and venison, were served up, as at present, in the three modes of boiled, broiled, and roasted ‡. They abstained from tame fowl: Geese, ducks, and hens they only reared

† Athenæus, lib. iv.

‡ Ἡ τροφή ἐστὶ ἄρτοι μὲν ὀλίγοι, κρέα δὲ πολλὰ ἐν ὕδατι καὶ ὀπτὰ ἐπ' αὐθράκων, ἢ ὀβελίσκων. Posidonius apud Athenæum. Πλησίον δ' αὐτῶν ἐσχαίρει κύνῃαι, γέμουσαι πυρὰς καὶ λέβητας ἔχουσαι, &c. Diod. Sic. lib. v.

for pleasure §. The utensils used upon these occasions were few in number and simple in their fashion. Spits and large earthen pots were the whole furniture of the kitchen; wooden, and sometimes earthen and pewter platters*, that of the table. The guests, as to this day in France, brought along with them their own knives and forks, which hung from the girdle in the same sheath† with the dagger, which is called the *BIDOC* by the ancient Scots.

The side-tables of the old Britons were not decorated with all the splendour of modern times. On them were only to be seen drinking cups of various sizes, and in number equal to those who sat at table. One of the cups was generally of silver, the rest of wood, horn ||, earth, and sometimes of shell. The better sort sat at a table in the center of the great hall. Their dependents, completely armed, as if on guard, formed a wider circle,

entertain-
ments.

§ *Cæsar*, lib. v.

* Το δὲ ποτὸν οἱ διακονοῦντες ἐν αγγείοις περιφέρουσιν, εἰκόσι μὲν ἀμ-
βίκοις, ἢ κεραμενέοις, ἢ ἀργυροῖς. Καὶ γὰρ τοῦς πίνακας, ἐφ' ὧν τὰς τροφὰς
προτίθενται, τοιοῦτους ἔχουσιν· οἱ δὲ χαλκοῦς, οἱ δὲ κάρνεα ξύλινα καὶ πλεκ-
τά. *Posidon.* apud *Athen.*

† Μαχωρίῳ μικρῷ παρατίμνοῦσιν, ὃ τοῖς κολεοῖς ἐν ἰδίᾳ θήκῃ παράκειται.
Idem apud *eundem.*

|| *Cornibus barbari septentrionales potant. Plin.* lib. xi. *Cornua ab
labris argento circumcludunt. Cæsar*, lib. vi.

and regaled themselves, at the same time ‡, on long benches very little raised from the ground. They were waited upon at table by girls and boys not arrived at the years of puberty §. When they had done eating, the most honourable man at the feast called for a cup of ale, the common drink of the Celtæ, or of wine, after commerce had introduced it among them. He drank, as we do at present, to the next on his right hand; and the same cup being filled to the brim to each person, went round the whole circle. The women were * not only admitted but highly honoured at their entertainments; they retired, as with us, before the men proceeded to downright ebriety.

Of singing, The bards held a conspicuous place at public entertainments; and a great part of the amusement of our ancestors was derived from their songs. They repeated their compositions in every branch of poetry; the heroic, the elegiac, the ludicrous, the severe. The words were set to music; the bard recited nothing where the voice was not sustained by some instrument. The harp was

‡ Καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦς θυρεοῦς ὀπλοφερουῖτες ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσω παρεστῶσιν· οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι κατὰ τὴν ἀντικρὺ καθήμενοι κύκλῳ, καθάπερ οἱ δεσπότες συνεωχούνται. Posid. ubi supra.

§ Διακονοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτάτων παίδων, οὐκ ἔχόντων ἡλικίαν ἀρρένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν. Diod. Sic. lib. v.

* Ductæ in eos conventus uxores. Athen. lib. x.

appropriated

appropriated to the serious ; a flute or pipe accompanied the comic and lively.

That species of dancing which the Greeks distinguished dancing, by the name of Pyrrhic, was an universal amusement among the Celtic nations. A number of young men in complete armour rushed in suddenly before the guests, at a certain period of the warlike music, danced with great agility, and kept time by striking their swords against their shields †. When the spectators were, for a short time, amused with this show, the music suddenly changed, the armed dancers disappeared with a shout of war, and a band of young women entered, tripping hand in hand to a merry air ‖. They too, at a certain period of the music, vanished at once ; the young men entered again as if engaged in action, and to the sound of the accompanying instrument exhibited all the incidents of a real battle *.

Neither were the guests at Celtic entertainments gra-duelling, tified with fictitious battles only ; the young warriors frequently challenged one another to single combat to shew their bravery. The gladiatorial spectacles at Rome proceeded from this characteristical custom of the Barba-

† Xenophon. Exped. Cyr. lib. vi.

‖ Mulieres etiam saltant, una alteram manu tenentes. Strabo, lib. iii.

* Xenophon. Exped. Cyr. lib. vi.

rians of the North of Europe; who, contrary to the opinions of all other nations, placed death itself in the number of their amusements *. This peculiarity they carried to such an extravagant pitch, that a stranger, if renowned for his valour, thought himself dishonoured should his host neglect to give him an opportunity of breaking a spear with some brave man among his friends.

games of
chance.

The eagerness for games of chance, which Tacitus found among the Germans, was not entirely confined to the continent. The ancient Bards have transmitted to us, in their songs, many proofs that dice were not unknown among the Caledonians. The Bards, however, do not inform us that the northern Britons carried their passion for gaming so far as to place their liberty, which was more valuable than life itself in the eyes of the Celtæ, upon a single throw of the dye †.

* Mortem pro joco habent. Athen. lib. iv.

† Extremo ac novissimo jactu, de libertate et de corpore contendunt. Tacit. Germ. lib. xxiv.

Their Morality and Poetry.

Vice is not natural to man; he derives it from those fictitious wants which grow with the progress of society. Before property becomes the means of procuring sensual pleasure, civil restraints are superfluous, and morality itself an unnecessary study. The contempt which the Celtic nations shewed for death, is a proof that they were not anxious about the possession of the conveniences of life; and that circumstance shut up the great channel of corruption which pollutes the human mind in an advanced stage of civility. We may here without impropriety observe, that the vices of Barbarians proceed from prejudice, and their virtues from nature.

General
reflections.

The Druids, with their speculative opinions on religion, inculcated upon their followers some general maxims of morality. The result of their inquiries in other branches of philosophy, their discoveries in the nature and properties of matter, they confined to themselves, to astonish into a veneration for their order a race of men whom they wished to govern through the channel of prejudice and ignorance. Darkness was favourable to the continuance of their power; and they encouraged into a settled contempt that dislike to science

Morality
taught by
the Druids.

science and the arts of civil life which the northern nations derived from their natural aversion to mental, as well as to bodily labour.

and Bards,

The moral character of our ancestors owed more to the compositions of the Bard * than to the precepts of the Druid. That elevation of soul which the first inspired was more favourable to virtue than the cold dictates of the latter; for the mind which entertains a conscious and dignified pride seldom harbours vice. The influence which the Bards derived from the instruction and amusement with which their poems furnished their countrymen, raised them to equal honours with the Druids themselves. The respect for their order was so great and universal, that armies engaged in action have been known to desist from battle when the Bards threw themselves between the lines †. They were held in as much veneration by the enemies of their nation as by their countrymen and friends; “for,” as

* *Viguere studia laudabilium doctrinarum inchoata per Bardos.*
Amm. Marcell. lib. xv.

† “Ου μόνον δ’ ἐν ταῖς εἰρηνικαῖς χρεῖαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοῦτοις μάλιστα πείθονται, καὶ τοῖς μελωδοῦσι ποιηταῖς, οὐ μόνον οἱ φίλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πολεμιοὶ· πολλάκις δ’ ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσι πλησιαζόντων ἀλλήλοις τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀνατεταμένοις καὶ ταῖς λόγχαις προβεβλημέναις, εἰς τὸ μέσον οὗτοι προελθόντες παύουσιν αὐτοὺς, ὥσπερ τινα θηρία κατεπάσαντες. *Diod. Sic. lib. v.*

an ancient Bard expresses himself, “ the world is the
“ country, and mankind the relations of every genuine
“ Poet.”

The compositions of the Bards, according to the
ancients, comprehended the religion, the laws, and
history of the Celtic nations. To commit those poems
to memory, to repeat them on solemn occasions, was
the great amusement and study of their vacant hours.
It is highly probable, though the observation is not
made by the writers of Greece and Rome, that the
order of the Bards were divided into three different
classes. The British and Irish Scots had their FER-
LAOI, or Hymnists ‡, who reduced the tenets of reli-
gion into verse; their SENACHIES, who comprehended
the fabulous history of their ancestors * in a kind of
unpoetical stanza; and their FER-DAN, who sung the
praises of men who had made a great figure in war †.
Each of these classes kept its own province entire.
They interfered not in the least with one another; the

who were
divided into
three classes,

‡ *Οἱ Βάρδοι ὕμνισαὶ καὶ ποιηταί.* Strabo, lib. iv.

* Celebrabant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriae
et annalium genus est. Tacit. Germ. lib. ii.

† Bardi quidem fortia virorum facta, heroicis composita versibus,
cum dulcibus lyrae modulis cantitarunt. Amm. Marcell. lib. v.

Vos quoque, qui fortes animos belloque peremptos
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi.

Lucan. lib. i.

FER-LAOI descended not into the region of the SENACHY, nor did the SENACHY rise to the sublimity of the FER-DÂN, who derived from his poetical genius his only title to the name of Bard. The hymns of the FER-LAOI were lost by the introduction of a new religion; and the works of the SENACHY expired in their natural dulness. A few of the compositions of the FER-DÂN have triumphed over the ravages of time; and prove that the Bards inculcated the purest morals on their countrymen, and comprehended in their songs all those virtues which render a man truly great, and deservedly renowned.

Character of
the ancient
Britons
formed on
the poems of
the Bards.

The ancient British nations heard their poems with such rapture and enthusiasm, that they formed their character and manners upon the model of the virtues which the Bards recommended in their songs. In an age unacquainted with science men became disinterested, generous, and noble, as individuals; as a nation they were inconsiderable and obscure in the absence of those civil improvements which alone can render a community respectable and great. A publication which the Author of the Introduction has already given to the world establishes the justness of the above observation. It at the same time shews, that the personal virtues of individuals avail little to perpetuate the fame of an uncultivated nation; and it also proves, that no dignity of character,

character, no greatness of soul, can rescue the prince from the oblivion which must involve his unpolished and illiterate people. Fingal passed away unnoticed in Caledonia, at the time that Heliogabalus employed the page of the historian at Rome.

To recommend valour in war by the example of ancient times*, to encourage the generous feelings of the mind with panegyric, to animate the living to noble deeds by celebrating the great actions of the dead†, were not the only subjects which employed the genius of the Celtic Bards. They travelled to the various regions of poetry, to the sentimental, the ludicrous, the severe. Of the two latter nothing of any antiquity remains. The ludicrous is local and temporary; and satire ceases to please when the follies it reprehends are lost in length of time. The sentimental is peculiar to no age; it suits the inherent feelings of the human mind; and when clothed with glowing imagery, and expressed in smooth versification, it pleases the fancy, and adheres to the memory. It is to an union of all these circumstances we owe the preservation of the greatest part of the poems of Ossian, which contribute

Subject of
their poems.

* Bardi quidem fortia virorum illustrium facta, heroicis composita versibus, cantarunt. Amm. Marcell. lib. xv.

† Celtæ hymnorum suorum argumentum faciunt, viros qui in præliis fortiter pugnantes occubuerunt. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xii.

to finish the picture of our ancestors, of which the outlines have been drawn by the writers of Greece and Rome.

The poets, in short, were the great, the favourite instructors of the ancient Briton. He attended to the precept of the Druid with awe; he heard the sentiment of the Bard with rapture. Reserved, severe, and imperious, the first, when he enlightened, endeavoured to enslave the mind; the latter elevated the soul with pleasure, when he improved it with instruction.

Their Persons, and Women.

Persons of
the Celtæ

The inhabitants of modern Europe differ not more in their manners, than in the size of their persons, from those nations who possessed of old the regions of the North and West. The Sarmatic Tartars, who moved into the provinces of the Roman empire upon its decline, were low of stature, a squat and swarthy race of men. The Celtic nations, under whatever climate they were placed, were tall, robust *, and lusty †;

* Sunt Celtæ proceræ staturæ. Arrian. Exped. Alexandr.—
Proceræ stabant Celtorum signa cohortes. Silius Ital.—Οἱ δὲ Κέλται
τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν εἰσὶν εὐμήκεις. Diod. Sic. lib. v.

† Mollia et fluida corpora Gallorum. Tit. Liv. lib. xxxiv.

of a ruddy complexion*, with yellow hair†, and large blue eyes‡. The Spaniard§, exposed to the burning suns of Gallicia, was as fair and florid as the German of the northern Europe.

The ancients, astonished at the enormous size of the Celtæ, endeavoured to account for that phænomenon in a physical way. Cæsar, in speaking of the Germans, attributes their great stature to the gross food with which they were nourished, to the continual exercise which was the natural attendant on the two occupations of hunting and predatory war. The illustrious writer ascribes it in part to the uninterrupted freedom of action they enjoyed in their youth; to the want of all application to study; and to the consequent absence of correction when boys ||. To all these causes combined

* Ταῖς δὲ σαρκὶ κάθυργοι καὶ λευκοί. Diod. Sic. lib. v.—Fusa et candida corpora. Tit. Liv. lib. xxxviii.

† Ταῖς δὲ κόμαις ἐκφύσεως ξανθοί. Diod. Sic. lib. v.—Flavis promissis crinibus. Plin. ii.—Inde truces flavo comitantur vertice Galli. Claudian. in Rufin. lib. ii.

Arcto à de gente comam tibi Lesbia, misi
Ut scires quanta sit tua flava magis. Martial. Epig. v.

‡ Germani truces et cærulei oculi. Tacit. Germ. lib. iv.—Natio vehementer cæsiis oculis. Herodot. lib. iv.

§ Fulgore nivali corporis Hispanus. Silius Ital. lib. xvi.

|| Non multum frumento, sed maximam partem lacte atque pecore vivunt, multumque sunt in venationibus, quæ res et cibi genere, et quotidiana

combined the Celtæ, according to Cæsar, owed that immense height of body which rose so remarkably over the standard of other nations.

Cause of
that phæno-
menon.

These circumstances may have contributed to the great size of the Celtic nations, but they were far from being the only cause. The Tartars, who migrated in the fourth and fifth ages into the provinces of the western empire, differed not materially in their manner of life from the Celtæ, yet they fell much short of them in stature. Among mankind, as in other animals, there seem to be a variety of species; some are by nature mere pygmies, others of gigantic proportions. No climate, no change of food can raise the Laplander to the height of the German: and subject the latter for ages to the intense cold and scarcity of food in the arctic circle, and he will not dwindle into the mean stature of the present inhabitant of Lapland.

The British
tallest of all
the Celtæ.

Of all the branches of the Celtæ, the ancient Britons, the Germans not even excepted, were the greatest in the height of their bodies *. They generally exceeded
by

quotidiana exercitatione et libertate vitæ (quia a pueris, nullo officio aut disciplina assuefacti, nihil omnino contra voluntatem faciant,) et vires alit, et immani corporum magnitudine homines efficit. Cæsar, lib. iv.

* Οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εὐμηκέστεροι τῶν Κελτῶν εἰσι. Procerissimi Celtarum sunt Britanni. Strabo, lib. iv.—Caledoniam habitantium magni artus Germanicum originem asseverant. Tacit. Agric. lib. ii. Σημειον δὲ τοῦ μεγεθοῦς.

by half a foot the tallest Romans in the days of Strabo; and they rose beyond the standard of the Gauls, whose persons, according to an exaggerating writer, were of more than human size †. The women did not yield to the men in stature, and they almost equalled them in strength of body and in vigour of mind ‡. They were fair, blooming, and stately; just and full in the proportions of their limbs; active, high-spirited, and bold. Their long yellow hair flowed carelessly down their shoulders, and their large blue eyes animated their looks into a kind of ferocity less apt to kindle love than to command respect and awe.

Their women;

In modern Europe a fictitious respect is paid to women, in the ancient they possessed real consequence and power. They were not then chained to the distaff, or confined to the trivial cares of domestic life. They entered into the active scenes of public affairs, and, with a masculine spirit, shared the dangers and fatigues of the field with their husbands and friends. They unmanned not their countrymen in the hour of peril with vain ter-

their character;

γεθοις· αντίπαιδάς γὰρ ἡμεῖς εἶδομεν ἐν Ρώμῃ, τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων αὐτόθι ὑπερέχοντας καὶ ἡμιπῶδιω Strabo, lib. iv.

† Gallis insubribus corpora plus quam humana erant. Florus, lib. ii.

‡ Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες τῶν Κελτῶν οὐ μόνον τοῖς μεγέθεσι παραπλήσιοι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ δὲ ταῖς ἀλκαῖς ἐναμιλλοί. Mulieres Celtarum non proceritate tantum viros æquiparant, sed animi quoque viribus illos æmulantur. Diod. Sic. lib. v.

rors and complaints; they animated them to action with exhortation, and confirmed their valour with examples of personal courage *. Routed armies have been known to return to the charge at their intreaty, battles have been gained by their timely interposition †. Strangers to the acquiescing disposition of other women, they scorned to survive the defeat of their friends; they snatched the triumphs of victory from the hand of the enemy, and rescued themselves from slavery by a voluntary death ‡. Instead of soothing the untractable minds of their husbands into concessions that might procure safety, they encouraged them to lose their lives rather than their liberty and independence.

their amazing influence.

The picture we have drawn will not probably please the refined ideas of the present times. But the high spirit of the Celtic women gave them more influence over our ancestors than our modern beauties derive from all their elegant timidity and delicacy of manners. The most unpolished Germans, according to Tacitus, thought

* *Mulieres in prælium proficiscentes milites, passis manibus implorabant, nec se in servitutem Romanis traderent. Cæsar, lib. i.*

† *Memoriâ proditum est, quasdam acies inclinatas jam et labantes, a fœminis restitutas, constantia præcum et objectu pectorum, et monstrata cominus captivitate. Tacit. Germ. lib. viii.*

‡ *Conjuges Cimbrorum ea re non impetratâ a Mario, laqueis, nocte proxima, spiritum eripuerunt. Valer. Max. lib. vi. Mutuis concidère (Cimbrorum conjuges) vulneribus. Florus, lib. iii.*

that

that something divine dwelt in female minds: Women were admitted to their public deliberations, and they did not despise their opinions or neglect to follow their advice*. To such a pitch had some branches of the Celtæ carried their veneration for the fair sex, that, even in their life-time, a kind of divine honours was paid to some distinguished women†. The ancient Britons were peculiarly fond of the government of women. Succession, where it was established at all, went in the female as well as in the male line‡; and they convened with no less ardour round the standard of a princess, than they followed with eagerness their petty kings and chiefs to the field§.

Some late writers have ascribed the enormous size and corpulence of the Barbarians of ancient Europe to their use of beer, the universal beverage of all the branches of the Celtic nations. Had the observation been just, the present English should exceed their fathers in stature;

Observations on the size of the Celtæ.

* Inesse quinetiam sanctum aliquid, et providum putant: nec aut consilia earum aspernantur aut responsa negligunt. Tacit. Germ. lib. viii.

† Vidimus sub Divo Vespasiano Velledam, diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam. Sed et olim Auriniam, et complures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione, nec tanquam facerent Deas. Tacit. Germ. lib. viii.

‡ Solitum quidem Britannis foeminarum ductu bellare testabatur. Tacit. Ann. lib. xiv. Neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt. Tacit. Vit. Agric. lib. xvi.

§ Dio. Cass. lib. xlii.

M m

but

but this is so far from being the case, that they fall short of the modern Germans, and are scarce superior, in that respect, to the French, who, from possessing the grape, have for ages discontinued the drinking of beer. To strengthen the argument, it may be here observed, that the inhabitants of London, who use beer the most, are of a smaller size than those who live less luxuriously in other parts of the kingdom. To solve the difficulty we must have recourse to a remark already made; that the Sarmatæ, who, upon the decline of the Romans, advanced into the regions of the West, were a very different race of men from the Celtæ, and that they sent down their low size, with their blood, to the present inhabitants of Europe, who are, in a great measure, their posterity*.

Effects of
climate on
the size of
the men,

The great stature of the ancient Britons may, in some degree, be ascribed to the humidity of the climate under which they lived. The same temperature of air which favours the extraordinary growth of vegetables, may

* The general use of spirits, which has much prevailed of late in Europe, may have contributed to lessen the size of the present race. Distilled liquors certainly check the growth of the human body; neither is wine itself favourable. This much is certain, that the inhabitants of the mountains of Scotland have fallen short of the stature and robust habit of body of their ancestors, within the last century, during which they have been acquainted with the still. Ale was their common and favourite beverage from all antiquity.

contribute to increase the size of the human body, where it is not checked by that mode of life and hard labour which civil improvements have introduced into modern Europe. The inhabitants of cloudy regions and swampy countries, even at this day, exceed in stature those who live under a serene sky and on a dry and light soil. The Germans who possess the fens between the Scheld and the Elbe rise beyond the standard of the inhabitants of the Upper Germany, and the English of the morasses of Lincoln exceed in size the inhabitants of the downs of Hampshire.

But whatever effect the humidity of the air had on the stature of the northern Celtæ, it certainly contributed to that whiteness of skin by which they were so remarkably distinguished. The beauty of their women*, those ruddy and florid complexions which glow in the descriptions of the ancients†, may, in some measure, be ascribed to that moist atmosphere which still clothes our fields with a kind of perpetual green. But the superior charms of the Celtic women, as they were general among all the nations of ancient Europe descended from the same stock, must, like the stature of the men, have proceeded from their being a different race from the Sarmatæ, who

and beauty
of their wo-
men.

* Γυναικας ἔχουσιν εὐειδεῖς. Diod. Sic. lib. v.

† Κελτοὶ καλλίστας ἔχουσι γυναῖκας. Celtæ pulcherrimas habent uxores. Athen. lib. xiii.

carried their homely looks with their small size into the regions of the West.

The uncorrupted chastity, the absolute abstinence from early venery, which a virtuous kind of prejudice established into an inviolable law among the Celtic nations, must have conduced to the immense size of their bodies. To have any commerce with women before the age of twenty was one of the most disgraceful and unpardonable of all crimes *. Virgins were never given away in matrimony till their twentieth year ; and thus the young couple, coming together in full maturity and vigour, transmitted their own strength and size to their children †.

Their Manner of Life.

Observations.

Our ancestors had the misfortune, if there is any misfortune in the want of importance with posterity, to be seen distinctly by foreigners before either time or accident had polished them out of their natural rudeness and bar-

* Intra annum vigesimum fœminæ notitiam habuisse, in turpissimis habent rebus. Hoc ali staturam, ali hoc vires, nervosque confirmare putant. Cæsar, lib. vi.

† Sera juvenum Venus, eoque inexhausta pubertas. Nec virgines festinantur; eademque juvenia, similis proceritas, pares, validique miscentur: ac robora parentum liberi referunt. Tacit. Germ.

barity.

barity. Nations who have the advantage of being the recorders of their own actions cover the beginnings of their history with splendid fictions, or place them in the shade to heighten the features of their more authentic fame. The light which the Romans threw upon the northern nations, in their uncultivated state, by rescuing their manners from oblivion, has taken away from their renown. Men accustomed to the luxuries of advanced society look with a kind of contempt on the inconveniences of rude life. This consideration has induced the Author of the Introduction to confine, within narrow bounds, his observations on the manners of the ancient British nations ; for where the road lies through a barren country the journey ought to be short.

When the Scythian Nomades first became known to the Greeks they neither sowed nor reaped * ; they derived their subsistence from the fruits which the earth naturally produced, from the chase, and the milk and flesh of their flocks and herds †. The Gauls were the first branch of the Celtæ who applied themselves to agriculture ; and that earliest and rudest of all arts had scarce passed the Rhine, when Cæsar displayed in Germany the Roman

Agriculture, &c.

* Herodot. lib. vi. Nomades non sunt aratores. Arrian. Indic.

† Herodot. lib. iv. 46.

Eagle*. The Britons were probably before the Germans, in point of time, in the cultivation of their lands. Their vicinity to Gaul enabled them to import its arts; and their soil and climate was more favourable to agriculture than the cold regions beyond the Rhine; yet, in the days of Strabo, many of the inhabitants of Britain were strangers to the use of the plough †. In the infancy of agriculture, oats and barley were the only grains known in the north of Europe ‡. The first they parched before the fire § and ground in hand-mills, as some of the Scots and Irish did till of late years; and of the latter they made their favourite beverage, beer.

Intoxicating
liquors.

The art of extracting an inebriating liquor from corn || was known among all the branches of the Celtæ, before the

* Germani agriculturæ non student majorque pars victus eorum, in lacte et caseo et carne consistit. Cæsar, lib. iv.

† Quidam Britannorum hortos colendi et aliarum partium agriculturæ prorsus ignari sunt. Strabo, lib. iv.

‡ Avenam Germaniæ populi serunt. Plin. lib. xviii.—'Αλλὰ τὰς τε κριθὰς καὶ ἐσθίουσιν καὶ πίνουσιν. Dion. Cass. lib. xlix.

§ Non ad panem conficiendum sed ad torrendum. Herodot. lib. iv.

|| Ligures utuntur potu hordeaceo; κριθίνου πόματος. Strabo, lib. iv.
—Est et Occidentis populis sua ebrietas, fruge madida. Plin. lib. xiv.
—The ancient Celtic nations were acquainted with the method of baking bread with yeast. Galliæ et Hispaniæ frumento in potum resoluta, quibus

the Greeks and Romans extended their information to the regions of the West. As the method of brewing this intoxicating liquid was not the peculiar invention of any particular country, it went under various names. The German apellation is still retained in the English word Beer; and the LEÄN, or LEUAN of the Scots and Irish is still famous in the rhimes of their ancient bards. Beer however was not the sole beverage of the ancient Britons; their Zythus, or water diluted with honey ||, was in much request; and they seem, with other northern nations, to have known a method of extracting a kind of cyder from wild apples*. When the Romans extended their arms to this side of the Alps, the use of wine was introduced among the Celtic nations. The Germans, rude as they were in the days of Tacitus, were well acquainted with the juice of the grape; and we may conclude, from a parity of reason, that the Britons were not strangers to wine at the first settlement of the Romans in their country.

The household furniture of the Britons was neither splendid nor convenient. The best accommodated lay ^{Household furniture.}

quibus diximus generibus, spumâ ita concretâ, pro fermento utuntur, qua de causa levior illis quam ceteris panis est. Plin. lib. xviii.

|| Οἰνομέλιος πόματι, χορηγοῦσας τῆς χώρας τὸ μέλι παμπληθές.
Diod. Sic. lib. v.

* Hic longas noctes ducunt et pocula læti
Fermento et acidis imitantur vitea sorbis.

Virg.
on

on flock beds or on the skins of wild beasts spread on straw rushes, or heath; and their chairs and tables were fashioned with the ax. The ancient Germans were not peculiar in having a separate table, when they ate in private, for each person in the family †; at their public entertainments, they used but one table for each rank of the people invited. The old bards have transmitted the memory of this, as a British custom, to modern times. The vessels used by our ancestors were carved out of wood or made of earth ‡. Their drinking-cups were, as has been already observed, originally either of shell or of horn §, though some more magnificent than others were possessed of goblets of silver ||.

Clothing

The Cæltæ were better clothed than some learned men have supposed, from the testimony of the ancients. Their peculiar custom of throwing away their loose garments in action gave rise to the opinion, that some of them went always naked. When the nations of antiquity first appeared in history they were but very slightly covered: the greatest part of the body was left bare; and

† Apud Germanos separatæ singulis sedes et sua cuique mensa. Tacit. Germ. lib. xxii.

‡ Ex eadem materia (*fistili*) sunt patinæ. Nonnullis patinarum loco, canistra lignea vitilibus contexta. Athenæus, lib. iv.

§ Vinum poculis corneis ac ligneis. Diod. Sic.

|| Est videre apud Germanos argentea vasa. Tacit. Germ. lib. v.

the Persians were the first who adopted the womanish long stole of the East. In the various regions of Europe, they used for clothing the materials in which the country most excelled; but the fashion of their garments was universally the same.

In the northern regions, where game abounded, their upper coverings were made of the skins of beasts *: In Germany they used linen, especially the women, who sometimes wore printed garments †, and often long robes of white. The Gauls, like the modern French, delighted in gawdiness and shew ‡. Their wool was coarse §; but they rendered their garments less homely with gold and silver lace ||. In Spain, as at present, the wool was extremely fine **; the clothing of the Spaniards, therefore, was of

of the various branches of the Celtæ.

* Et pecudum fulvis velantur corpora fetis. Virg. de Hyperboreis Georg. iii.—Germani gerunt ferarum pelles. Tacit. Germ. lib. xvii.

† Fœminæ sæpius lineis amictibus velantur, eosque purpurâ variant. Tacit. Germ. lib. xvii.—Fœminæ fatidicæ Cimbrorum, albo vestitu, carbasinis supparis. Strabo, lib. vii.

‡ Εθῆσι δὲ χρῶνται καταπληκτικαῖς, χιτῶσι μὲν βαπτοῖς, χρώμασι παντοδαποῖς διηνησμένοις, καὶ αναξυρίσιν, ἃς ἐκεῖνοι βράκας προσαγορεύουσιν. Diod. Sic. lib. v.

§ Lana eorum aspera. Strabo, lib. v.

|| Τὰς εσθῆτας βαπτάς, καὶ χρυσοπάσσας. Strabo, lib. iv.

** Νυν δὲ ἔρια μᾶλλον τῶν Κοραξῶν (populus Hispaniæ) καὶ ὑπερβολῇ τις ἐστὶ τοῦ καλλους. Strabo further observes, that such was the reputation of Spanish wool, that a talent was frequently the price of a ram when sold to other nations. Strabo, lib. iii.

flighter texture, and more elegant than that of the Gauls. The inhabitants of Britain used woollen clothing; neither were they strangers to the manufacturing of linen.

Their make
and fashion.

The party-coloured garments † which the natives of the mountains of Scotland have brought down to the present times, were the universal taste among all the branches of the Celtic nation. The Sagum of the old Gauls and Spaniards was no other than the Scottish PLAID of various colours; the Braccæ, from which a part of Gaul took its name, were the Highland Trousse, and the same with that worn by the Germans; which being strait and close to the skin, exhibited the shape of the limbs ‡. The ancient Britons, like the Germans, wore a close jacket of party-coloured cloth, which generally reached no further than the waistband of the Trousse. This jacket had a half sleeve, which came down to the elbow *. The vulgar wore a kind of half-boot and shoe in one, made of raw hides, and laced

† *Verficolori veste. Livius, lib. vii.*

‡ *Locupletissimi Germanorum veste distinguuntur strictâ singulos artus exprimente. Tacit. Germ. xvii.*

* *Vestis alta, stricta, verficolor, vix appropinquans poplitibus (this seems to be the jacket and felibeg in one, worn by the Scots of the mountains) manicæ sola brachiorum principia velantes. Sidon. Apol. lib. iv.*

fast before with small thongs *: the shoes of the better sort of people were of tanned leather §.

The dress of the women was still more simple than that of the men. It consisted of a jacket without any sleeves, and a petticoat which reached down a little below the knee. Their bosoms were exposed to view, and their arms were bare †. Upon public occasions they used likewise a party-coloured Sagum or PLAID of finer texture than that worn by the men; and women of condition and rank hung a chain of gold, by way of ornament, about the neck ‡. In summer their jackets and petticoats were of linen stained with purple: In winter they were of wool, striped with different colours. Printed linens seem to be of Celtic invention.

Dress of the women.

* Pedes perone fetoso, tales adusque, vinciebantur. Sidon. Apol. lib. iv.

§ The *Learach Carti* of the northern Scots.

† Nec alius fœminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod fœminæ sæpius liniis amictibus velantur, eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris, in manicas non extendunt nudæ brachia et lacertos sed et proxima pars pectoris. Tacit. Germ. lib. xvii.

‡ Ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα μεγίστη τῇ τε κόμῃ πλείστην τε καὶ ξανθοτάτην οὔσαν μέχρι τῶν γλουῶν καθεῖτο, καὶ σρεπλὸν μέγαν χρυσοῦν ἐφόρει· χιτῶνά τε παμποίκιλον ἐνεκεκόλπωτο καὶ χλαμύδα ἐν αὐτῇ παχεῖαν ἐνεπεπορητο. Dion. Cass. lib. lxii.

. . . . Lactea colla auro innectuntur.

Virg.

The Spanish ladies, in the days of Strabo, wore linen robes stained with the figures of various flowers §.

Dress of the
Celtæ very
sumptuous.

Though the Celtic nations had a particular aversion to the changing of the fashion of their clothes, they became early luxurious and expensive in the article of dress. The apparel of the Gauls and Spaniards especially was extremely magnificent. When they wore linen it was stamped or painted * with a variety of figures in different colours; and their woollen clothes were variegated, according to Strabo, with gold †. The Germans themselves as early as the beginning of the third century streaked their garments with silver; and we may conclude that the ancient Britons were not behind the Germans in their love of finery and show ‡.

Their neat-
ness and
cleanliness.

The Celtæ were not only neat in their dress, they were also cleanly in their persons. The character of dirtiness, which we annex to the Barbarians of ancient Europe, came from the East with those wild nations who overturned the empire of the West. The Sarmatæ,

§ Hispanorum mulieres floridis vestibus (ἀνθηαῖς ἐσθῆσι) utuntur. Strabo, lib. iii.

* Hispani linteis prætextis purpura tunicis, candori miro fulgentibus constiterant. Livius, lib. xxii.

† Καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας βαπτὰς φοροῦσι καὶ χρυσοπάστοις. Strabo, lib. iv.
—Auro virgatæ vestes. Sil. Ital. lib. iv.

‡ Germani Chlamydes argento variegatas gestant. Herod. lib. iii.

who

who were the ancestors of the greater part of the present inhabitants of Europe, were dirty to a proverb §. The Celtic nations were peculiarly fond of cleanliness: They bathed regularly every day || in the months of winter, as well as in the heat of summer; and they carried their love of neatness so far, that, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, in all the provinces of ancient Gaul, not one man or woman, even the poorest, was to be seen with patched or mended clothes*. The same writer gives a striking contrast to the Celtic neatness in the nastiness of the Sarmatæ †, whose dirty and ragged posterity croud, at this day, the streets of the most opulent cities in Europe. The cleanliness of modern nations proceeds from luxury, and is not general; it was the result of nature among the Celtæ, and was universal. Beggary and rags are of the improvements of advanced society.

§ Sordes Sarmatarum. Tacit. Germ. xlv.

|| Statim è somno lavantur. Tacit. Germ. xxii.—Germani locis frigidissimis lavantur in fluminibus. Cæsar, lib. iv.

* Terfi pari diligentia cuncti et mundi, nec in tractibus illis poterit aliquis videri, vel foemina, licet perquam pauper, ut alibi frustis squalere pannorum. Ammian. Marcell. xv.

† Nec alia Hunnis domestica vestis, alia forensis, sed semel obsoleti coloris tunica collo inserta, non ante deponitur, aut mutatur, quam diuturnâ carie in pannos defluxerit, defrustata. Amm. Marcell. lib. xxxi.

Their Houses, Navigation, and Commerce.

Form of
their houses.

Cæsar observes, that in Britain, which at his arrival swarmed with an infinite number of inhabitants, the houses differed little in the architecture from those of the Gauls *. The walls were constructed of boards or of hurdles †; the latter of which were plastered over with different sorts of clay of various colours, red, blue, yellow, and white, which made a splendid appearance where distance prevented the meanness of the materials from offending the eye ‡. They were of a circular form, the roof rose in a kind of cone to a great height, and was covered with straw §. In the center of these halls, which were of great size, there was supported on four pillars of wood a kind of wattled funnel, which, being plastered with clay, served the purpose of a chimney, and carried the smoke through the conical point of the roof. This tube, which was very wide below, served in part to light the hall. The sleeping

* Hominum in Britannia est infinita multitudo; creberrimaque ædificia, fere Gallicis confimilia. Cæsar, lib. v.

† Τοῦς δ' οἶκους ἐκ σανίδων καὶ γέρρων ἔχουσι μεγάλους θολοειδεῖς, ὀροφον πολλὴν ἐπιβαλλόντες. Strabo, lib. iv.

‡ Quædam loca diligentius illinunt, terra ita pura et splendente, ut picturam ac liniamenta colorum imitetur. Tacit. Germ.

§ Casæ, more Gallico Stramentis erant tectæ. Cæsar, lib. v.

apartments, which were divided from the great hall by partitions of planks, or of hurdles plastered with mortar, were lighted with small windows.

Stone buildings were very rare, and though brick and tile were not absolutely unknown*, they were little used. It is probable after the Britons began to drop the old Celtic custom of an annual division of their lands, that some of their chiefs and petty kings had more convenient habitations than those we have above described. The political motives which the Germans advanced for a frequent change of habitation either existed not at all, or were not so powerful in Britain as they were upon the continent. When men settle in fixed abodes for any considerable period of time, the conveniencies of life gradually grow up among them, and they become objects of depredation to their less cultivated neighbours. Motives of safety from sudden incursions would certainly have suggested to the more polished Britons of the South the idea of building with brick and stone even before the Romans introduced both among them with their government and arts.

The inferior sort of people, as they do to this day in the mountains of Scotland, lived in mean

The vulgar
lived in huts.

* Λίθων μὲν γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ πλίνθων ὀπτῶν σπάνις. Herodian.
lib. vii.

huts § : the walls of these huts were of sod, and their roofs covered with a light kind of turf, which frequently stood out for twenty years together against the injuries of the weather. This rustick kind of architecture remained in Italy in the days of Virgil || ; for the clowns of Mantua and Cremona lived in the turf cabins of their Celtic ancestors, at a time when Augustus boasted of having converted the brick edifices of Rome into marble.

Situation of
their houses.

In Britain, as in Gaul and Germany, the inhabitants built their houses in copses of wood *, to shade them from the heat of the summer, and to cover them from the violence of the winter winds. Naturally fond of cleanliness, they always fixed their residence on the banks of some brook or river into which they plunged every morning as soon as they rose from sleep †.

They had
no towns.

The Britons had scarcely any group of houses built in one place, which could deserve the name of a town ‡, when Cæsar first arrived in Britain. Like the ancient Germans, they avoided to build in continued rows to

§ Ἐν καλύβαις διαιτῶσι. Dion. Cass. lib. xxxix.

|| Congestum cespite culmen. Virg. Ecl. i.

* Circumdata sunt sylvâ domicilia Gallorum; qui vitandæ æstus causâ, plerumque sylvarum ac fluminum petunt propinquitates. Cæsar, lib. vi.

† Statim è somno lavantur. Tacit. Germ. lib. xxii.

‡ Οὐ πόλεις ἔχουσιν. Dion. Cass. lib. xxxix.

shun the accidents of fire. Thick woods fenced round with a foss and wall obtained, among the Britons, the name of a town §. This peculiar custom gave its origin to the word BALL, by which a town is invariably distinguished in the Gaëlic language; it being derived from BUAL, literally a fence or fold. It is not improbable but, even in the days of Cæsar, there might be some inconsiderable number of contiguous houses on the banks of navigable rivers, and on the shores of convenient harbours. The commerce, which, even in those days, was carried on in the ports of Britain, presupposes, in some measure, the existence of villages.

The navigation of the ancient British nations was de-
 picable, if compared with the improvements of modern
 times. They, however, ventured into the ocean in small
 craft of rude construction, which they managed with
 great dexterity ||. The keels and kelsons of their
 long-boats, for their vessels deserved not the name of
 ships, were formed of slight materials: The hull was
 made of wicker covered with raw hides *. Each end of
 the

Their navigation,

§ Oppidum Britanni vocant, quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ muniverunt. Cæsar, lib. v.

|| Etiam nunc in Britannico oceano naves vitiles corio circumsutæ fiunt. Plin. lib. vii.

* Carinæ primum et statumina ex levi materia fiebant, reliquum corpus navium viminibus contextum coriis intægibatur, cujus generis eum usus Britanniae docuerat. Cæsar, Bel. Civ. lib. i.

the vessel terminated in a sharp beak, and it was rowed indiscriminately either way †. They used oars ‡ for the most part, though they were not unacquainted with the sail; and they skimmed along the water with amazing facility and expedition. The size of those vessels must have been greater than is generally supposed, for the Saxon auxiliaries of Vortigern transported themselves in three of them from Germany to Britain. As, to use a naval phrase, they could live in any sea, it is probable that some of those boats were accommodated with slight decks.

The inhabitants of the north of Europe, it is highly probable, sailed, in a very early period, in vessels of a larger size and better construction than those we have already described. The Suiones or ancient Scandinavians had their fleets in the days of Tacitus §; and before the time of the elder Pliny, the northern nations not only ventured into the tempestuous seas of Norway but even passed over into Thule, which the learned suppose to be the

Mare quod inter Britanniam et Hiberniam interluit, navigant vimineis alveis, quos circumdant ambitione tergorum bubulorum. Solin. xxv.

† Tacit. Germ. xlvi.

‡ Ἐρεσσοντες αἰεὶ ναυτίλλον αἰ μόνον. Procop. lib. iv.

§ Suionum civitates, in ipso oceano, classibus valent. Tacit. Germ. xlvi.

fame

same with the modern Iceland ||. These voyages could not have been performed in open boats nor in hulls of wicker covered with raw hides. The art of ship-building, though perhaps in its rudest state, was known in the North when the first feeble light of history rose on its nations. Men who sailed to Thule could scarcely be unacquainted with Britain; and had the inhabitants of the latter neglected an art which their maritime situation must have naturally suggested to them, they must have certainly adopted it from the Scandinavians. Rivers, narrow arms of the sea, even the British and Irish channels might be navigated in open skiffs by the inhabitants of the western shores of Britain, but those on the German ocean may be supposed to have known as much of navigation as the natives of the opposite continent.

The ancient British nations carried on some degree of foreign commerce, and exported commodities and manufactures *. The Isle of Wight seems to have been their chief mart. The tin, which Cornwall produced in great abundance, after being smelted into bars or cubes, was carried thither, and exported afterwards to the nearest coast of Gaul; from which it was sent by land-carriage to

Their foreign and domestic trade;

|| Sunt qui et alias prodant, Scandiam, Dumnam, Bergos maximamque omnium Nerigon; ex qua in Thulen navigetur. Plin. lib. iv.

* Ἀπολυπῆντες δ' εἰς ἀστραγάλων ῥυθμὸς κομίζουσιν εἰς τινὰ νῆσον προκειμένην μὲν τῆς Βρεττανικῆς ονομαζομένην δὲ Ἰκλιν. Diod. Sic. lib. v.

the mouth of the Rhone, and from thence conveyed by the Ligustic sea into Italy †. Their next great commodity was raw hides; and, after the Romans had settled in the Island, corn. Their manufactures for foreign markets consisted, in the reign of Augustus, of bridles, glass, and earthen ware, vessels made of a kind of a mixed metal, and other coarse articles, upon which the Romans raised considerable duties in the ports of Gaul ‡. The existence of a mercantile intercourse with foreigners implies a degree of internal commerce. The ancient Britons, who ventured their small craft on the ocean, may be reasonably supposed to have converted the convenience, which their rivers afforded for water-carriage, to the purposes of domestic trade.

land-carriage and chariots.

Their land-carriage was performed, as at present, by the means of carts and waggons, long before the Romans introduced the conveniencies § of life with their government. That they went in chariots to war is universally known *: that they used them for the conve-

† *Itinere pedestri per Galliam ad ostia Rhodani deportant.* Diod. Sic. lib. v.

‡ Ταῦτα δ' εἰς ἐλεφαντινα ψάλια καὶ περὶ αὐχένια, καὶ ὑαλᾶ σκεῦη, καὶ ἄλλος ῥῶπος τοιοῦτος. Strabo, lib. iv.

§ Diod. Sic. lib. v.

* *Britanni dimicant non equitatu modò aut pedite verum et Bigis et curribus.* Pomp. Mela, lib. iii.

nience of travelling, as we do our post-chaises, is equally certain *. Some of those vehicles were more expensive than the tawdry equipages of modern times ; for the chariots in which their petty kings fought in battle were frequently of solid silver †.

* *Εν ταῖς ὁδοπορίαις χρῶνται σηνωρίσιν.* In itineribus utuntur Bigis.
Diod. Sic. lib. v.

† Nil tam conspicuum in triumpho, quàm rex ipse Bituitus, discoloribus armis, argenteoque carpento, qualis pugnaverat. Florus, lib. iii.

G O V E R N M E N T

O F T H E

A N C I E N T B R I T I S H N A T I O N S .

Reflections on the Origin of Government.

Rise and
progress of
society.

SOCIETY is of greater antiquity than government. Civil regulations confess, in their own origin, the pre-existence of public crimes. Mankind, like other animals, herded originally together through mere instinct; and they deceive themselves who think that communities were formed under a preconcerted system of policy. Man, in his rudest state, being destitute of property, neither fears nor meets with injustice: He possesses nothing which his own arm cannot defend, before the love of the conveniencies of life has overcome his neighbour's natural propensity to justice. In the progress of society individuals polish one another, as it were, by collision. The fruits of the ingenuity of one is adopted and improved by another: New inventions start up in every quarter, and are lost in none: Luxury grows with the increase of the arts of civil life, rapacity treads close on its heels; and then, for the first time, the check of law
and

and regulation becomes necessary to the welfare, if not to the very being of the community.

The popular form of government is more ancient than monarchy. The patriarchal authority from which some writers deduce the latter, is too much circumscribed in degree and time to be the fountain from which monarchy flows. The power which a parent has over his children cannot be transmitted to his son. He derives it from nature, and it dies with himself. Regal government is a civil institution, which in various countries owes its commencement to various causes. It generally takes its rise from a kind of usurpation; and, whatever theorists in politics may say, there were originally no stipulations made between the tyrant and the people. Length of time establishes into a kind of right what, at the beginning, was an act of injustice; and the acquiescence of the people constitutes into a moral duty that obedience which was at first the effect of fear.

Origin of
monarchy.

The simplicity of monarchical government has established with many an opinion of its superior antiquity. The infancy of society, like that of man, must be awed, say they, into good behaviour by the fear of obvious punishment. The slow movements of popular governments command no respect, and impress no fears; and therefore men naturally place the power of the state where

Popular go-
vernment
older than
monarchy.

where it can be exerted with most expedition and precision. They who argue in this manner are little acquainted with the character of barbarous times. In the first stage of society there is no inequality between individuals: a man's mind must be opened with civilization before he will acquiesce in an opinion of his own inferiority. The Barbarian knows no person better than himself, and he submits to the dictates of none; deriving, in fact, from the vigour and independence of his own mind, that liberty which we owe to an accidental constitution of government.

Monarchy
begins in
force, and is
supported by
influence.

Though monarchy, for the most part, begins in the midst of tumult and war, the very existence of regal power presupposes a considerable degree of civility in the community. The authority which the leader of a nation may acquire from personal merit in battle will die away in peace, unless the machine is kept in motion by the continued impulse of influence; and this influence which is the foundation, if not the origin, of kingly government, is only to be obtained by having something to bestow upon abettors and dependents. A few being gained, through the channel of interest, the many are overawed into submission; and that lenity and impartial justice, which prudence dictates in the first periods of monarchy, contribute to reconcile the minds of the people to the government of one.

In

In the early infancy of a state, the only laws that subsist in the community are the opinions and prejudices of the people. Before property is well established, the catalogue of crimes is very succinct; and the punishments annexed to each are neither severe nor inflicted with precision. The people have not yet delegated their authority to a few; and the power that remains in the hands of the many seldom exerts itself with vigour. The society is kept together more by habit, and the absence of vice, than by any thing which deserves the name of government. The people, who have the whole power in their hands, convene only when they are to carry war into an enemy's country, or to defend their own. They consult together but on the external affairs of the community; its internal concerns are left to the opinions of individuals. This absence of all regulation may be called the most ancient form of government; and it may be distinguished by the title of a popular government, as the opinions of the people in general are the only checks upon the crimes and irregularities of individuals.

Origin and
nature of
the popular
form of go-
vernment.

Form of the Ancient British Government.

The Ancient British Nations, like the rest of the inhabitants of the North of Europe, were extremely

P p

fond

Their en-
thusiastic

fond and very tenacious of their political freedom. Though, from a conviction that civil society cannot maintain itself without subordination, they had their judges, their princes, and kings, the power of those dignified persons was very much circumscribed §. In the midst of barbarity they formed as just notions of liberty as other free nations have done in the most cultivated times. They were convinced, that they not only had a right to elect their magistrates ||, but also to prescribe those laws by which they chose to be governed. The actions of the individual were cognizable by the BREHON or judge; the judge himself was accountable for his conduct to the general assembly of the people*.

love of li-
berty.

The Celtæ in general were such enthusiasts on the article of public freedom, that they affirmed it was the natural property of animals as well as of men †. Their love of liberty was one of the reasons they gave for their aversion to industry and the accumulation of property; “for he that wishes to be free,” said the Scy-

§ Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas. Tacit. Germ.

|| Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes, qui jura per pagos, vicosque reddunt. Tacit. Germ. xii.

* Coeunt omnes certis diebus. Tacit. xi.

† Libertatem natura, mutis etiam animalibus datam. Civilis apud Tacit. Hist. lib. iv.

thians, "ought to have nothing that he is afraid to lose †." Poverty is certainly the best bulwark against tyranny; nor were our ancestors much mistaken when they believed that the man who loves riches is capable of selling his liberty for money. The Celtæ through all their branches preferred their freedom to life itself. Their first maxim in war was to maintain their independence, or to prevent slavery by a voluntary death §.

The department of the prince was to lead in war; ^{Their} in peace he sunk into an equality with others. ^{kings.} Instead of considering his will and pleasure as a living law, they paid him no obedience but what he derived from their opinion of his merit *. They seemed to consider the chief magistrate, even after his authority had extended itself to times of tranquillity, to be only the guardian of those customs which occupied the place of laws. Their kings had no public revenue, and they stood in need of none when the subject attended them in war at his own expence; if indeed the equipping of an ancient Briton for predatory expeditions required any expence at all.

† Nihil parare quod amittere timeant. Justin. lib. ii.

§ Nec aliud sibi reliquum quàm tenere libertatem, aut mori ante servitutem. Tacit. Ann. lib. ii.

* Reges auctoritate suadendi magis quam jubendi potestate. Tacit. Germ.

Their general assemblies.

It is certain that the ancient Britons, like their brethren on the continent, had their general assemblies of the people, in which all affairs of public concern were decided by the plurality of voices *. In the small states into which they were subdivided, it was not impossible for the majority of those of perfect age to convene upon important occasions. Their resolutions must, in the nature of things, have been tumultuary and precipitate. They met principally for the purpose of making war, and they rushed with little deliberation into a state which they naturally loved. Domestic affairs were seldom the subject of debate; for a people, before the establishment of landed property and a considerable degree of commerce, can scarcely be said to have any domestic affairs.

Origin of representation.

The greatest improvements in politics rise from very simple and rude beginnings. When the state became extensive and populous, it was impossible for all its members to convene in general assembly. The expedient of delegation was obvious, and was naturally adopted; and length of time polished into what is

* Δημοκρατοῦνται ὥτε πλήθεις. Statu populari plurimum reguntur. Dion. Cass. de Caledoniis, lib. lxxvi.—Coeunt certis diebus. Tacit. Germ.—De majoribus omnes. Id.—Antiquitus unum quotannis principem, itemque belli ducem multitudo diligebat. Strabo de Gallis, lib. iv.

called

called a convention of the states the democratical meetings of the Celtic nations. The delegates being freed from the interruptions and confusions incident to the assemblies of the populace, found leisure to determine upon domestic as well as foreign matters; and this was the source of those civil regulations which we distinguish by the name of laws.—In the darkness which involves our remotest ancestors, it is impossible to trace their government through all its departments with precision. The absence of those vices which exist only in polished society was probably the chief cause of the domestic tranquillity † which they enjoyed. Crimes, to use at once a paradox and a metaphor, are the parents of civil regulations; and necessity, which is said to have no law, is the source of all law.

Their Justice.

Man is by nature just. The love of pleasure, and the conveniences of civil life, warp his soul in advanced society from the principles of rectitude and impartiality. The Celto-Scythians are represented by the ancients as the most just and equitable of men. The unbiaſſed feelings of a mind uncorrupted by selfish passions supply the place of civil regulation, and are even better than the coercive power of laws. The security derived from the innate integrity of men is

Man by nature just.

† Diod. Sic. de Britannis, lib. v.

more pleasing than that which arises from their fears †. The nation that boasts of the multiplicity and salutariness of its regulations conveys satire in self-applause; and, though the paradox is not in all cases just, we may venture to affirm, that those who have the best laws often need them the most ‡.

Simplicity
and-inte-
grity of the
Britons,

The open simplicity and integrity of the ancient Britons met with the approbation of those who were most their foes; and they yielded not to the Celtæ on the continent in their ideas and practice of justice between man and man. The stranger, the traveller, and the merchant, were secure in their persons and property, not by the severity of legal punishments, but from the natural propensity of the people to justice. Theft and robbery within the territory of the community were reckoned unpardonable crimes; beyond the limits of the state they took the name of predatory war, and were covered with honour and renown *.

† Plus (apud Celtas) boni mores valent, quam alibi bonæ leges. Tacit. Germ. xviii.

‡ Justitia gentis ingeniis culta, non legibus . . . quippe divitiarum cupido est, ubi et usus. Justin. lib. ii.—Justissimi hominum quia communia habent bona. Nicol. Damasc. apud Stob. S. lib. xxxvii.—So distinguished for justice were the Celtæ, that Agathias says, Januas ædium nunquam claudunt. Lib. i.

* Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quæ extra fines cujusque civitatis fiunt. Cæsar, lib. vi.

In

In commending the justice and integrity of our ancestors we must confine our applause to their conduct at home. To take every advantage of an enemy was one of their invariable maxims; and to carry devastation and death into the territory of their neighbours upon every slight occasion was, instead of being thought dishonourable, attended with fame. Though they did not, like the American Indians, excuse their cruelties by an aversion to war, for, on the contrary, it was the amusement and business of their lives, they frequently committed barbarities which can admit of little apology. To alleviate the weight of this reflection it ought to be observed, that the oppressions of the Romans, in the first period of their government in Britain, were sufficient to raise a spirit of implacable revenge in minds less irascible and haughty than those of the ancient British Nations. Neither were the Celtæ, in any one of their branches, very tenacious of the faith of treaties; their fickle disposition, and ardent love of liberty, rendered them careless in their observation of conditions imposed upon them in their misfortunes †.

Notwithstanding this defect in their public faith, they boasted frequently, and with justice, of the in-

confined to
their domestic
conduct.

Faithful in
the service
of foreigners.

† Gallica in fœderibus inconstantia. Polyb. lib. ii.—Fœdisfragens. Sid. Apoll. lib. vi.

violable sincerity of their professions*. Their fidelity and attachment to the foreign princes whom they served in war were without bounds, and beyond example. It must however be confessed, that gratitude for favours received had a greater influence upon their conduct in this respect, than a regard for the virtues of the person whose arms they bore. A Nero†, a Vitellius, a Caracalla, were equally loved, and served with as much attachment as an Antonine, by the Celtic Germans; and the Britons, when they obeyed the Romans, made no distinction between a lawful prince and an usurper.—The Ancient British Nations were equitable, just, open, and sincere, in private life; in their public transactions, like their Celtic neighbours on the continent, they were sometimes treacherous and cruel. The pale of their own dominions comprehended almost all their good qualities; they carried no virtue, except valour, into the territory of their enemies.

Their appeal to the sword.

There was a species of theocracy among the Celtæ, as well as among the old Jews. Though they had magistrates and courts of justice, there was an authority superior to both, to which, in doubtful cases, they appealed. When either the question of right, or mat-

* *Nullos mortalium armis aut fide ante illos esse.* Tacit. Ann. lib. xiii.

† Sueton. Neron. xxxiv.

ter of fact, was not perfectly clear, the parties decided the suit by the sword*. Even witnesses, when they did not agree in their testimonies, were often obliged to settle the difference in their evidence by single combat. The decision of arms was reckoned more unerring than that of the magistrate: The appeal was to providence, and the judgment was that of God. To such a pitch of extravagance was this peculiar custom carried, that the candidates for public offices in the community, when their merit appeared to be equal, trusted their respective pretensions to the decision of the sword†. Ecclesiastical dignities have been acquired in the same barbarous way; and the chief Druid himself sometimes owed his elevation more to his dexterity in single combat with his rivals, than to the superior sanctity of his own character‡.

* *Rigido jus dicitur ense. Ovid. Trist. lib. v. — Libido cuncta armis agendi. Tacit. Ann. lib. xiii. — Cum controversias invicem habent, arma sumunt, et tanquam aperto Marte congregiuntur; et putantur justiora dicere, qui adversarium occidunt. Nicol. Damasc. ap. Stobæum, lib. viii.*

† *Corbis et Orfica patrueles fratres, de principatu civitatis ambigentes, ferro se certaturos professi sunt. Livius, lib. xxviii.*

‡ *Nonnunquam etiam de principatu Druidæ armis contendunt. Cæsar, lib. vi.*

L A N G U A G E

O F T H E

A N C I E N T B R I T I S H N A T I O N S .

General Observations.

Nations tenacious of original tongues.

NATIONS are not so tenacious of their customs and manners as they are of their aboriginal tongues. The first may gradually vanish in the growing improvements of civil life; the latter can only be buried in the same grave with the people themselves. Conquest may confine the bounds of a language; commerce may corrupt it; new inventions, by introducing new words, may throw the old into disuse; a change in the mode of thinking may alter the idiom: but the extirpation of those who speak any original tongue is the only means, by which it can be entirely destroyed, even where letters have been altogether unknown. It retires from successful invasion into rocks and deserts; it subsists with the remains of a people; even mountains and rivers in part retain it when the people are no more.

That

That the Romans established their own language, in the regions of the West and North which submitted to their arms, is a position which the learned scarce ever doubted, and which the rest of the world still implicitly believe. The Latin has been considered as the fountain from which the Italian, French, and Spanish, derive their origin ; and it must be confessed, that, in a confined degree, the opinion is extremely just. It is however certain, that this mark of their own greatness, which the Romans seem to have left in the conquered provinces, proceeded more from the reputation of their literature, than from the power of their arms. The illustrious nation had too much sense to endeavour to impose their own language upon the conquered ; and, had they even departed from their usual political prudence on that head, it is scarcely credible, that they could have succeeded in the attempt. All other conquering nations, to whom history extends its information, failed in their endeavours of the same kind. The victors have often adopted the tongue of the vanquished ; but the vassals have scarce ever been known to drop their own language for that of their lords.

The Latin
not the mother of the
language of
France, &c.

The Arabs who conquered Persia, the Persians who subdued India, the Tartars who extended their empire over China, the Turks who reign in Greece and its Isles, have not been able to establish their own lan-

proved from
collateral
examples.

guage in their conquests. The servants of the court, the attendants of the prince, the posterity of the victors, in general, may retain the tongue of their original country; but the bulk of the people will also retain that which descended to them from their fathers. The Romans themselves could never extend the Latin to the Provinces of the East; on the contrary, the language of their Greek vassals prevailed, at last, over their own. The obstinate despotism of William the Conqueror, and the perseverance of those Norman and French princes who succeeded him in the throne of England, could not force the language of France on the English nation; and the Lombards and Franks lost their own Sarmatic dialect in the tongues of Italy and Gaul. The cause is as obvious as the fact is true. The number of the conquerors bore no proportion to the vanquished; and, in the article of language, the majority always prevails.

Cause of the
connection
of the
French, &c.
with the
Latin.

The connection, between the Latin and the languages of Spain, France, and modern Italy, must be traced to another source than the government of Rome. The nations who inhabited those extensive regions originally, and whose posterity still, in a great degree, possess them, were, in fact, the same people with the Romans. Those Gaël, who in Italy went under the name of Umbri, were partly the ancestors of the Banditti who settled with Romulus on the banks of the Tiber. The Romans,

in their own aversion to commerce, vindicate, in part, their Celtic origin against their pretended descent from the Greeks of Magna Græcia, who were in some measure a commercial people. Some of their own writers join issue with us in this opinion. Their language, though tinged with Hellenisms, is radically different from the Greek; and we shall, in a subsequent section, have occasion to shew, that the primitives of the Latin tongue differ not materially from the language of a branch of the Celtæ, to whom neither the literature nor the government of Rome ever extended themselves.

A similarity in the language of different nations is, of itself, sufficient to establish the certainty of their common origin. Were all the historical monuments of the English and Germans, by some accident, lost, the identity of the radical words common to the language of both, would convince mankind that one of those nations must have originally migrated from the other. When the Romans threw the first light on the immense track of country which they distinguished by the name of Celtica, the same language as well as the same manners prevailed over the whole. The Æstiones, who inhabited Prussia and the banks of the Vistula, spoke nearly the same dialect with the ancient British nations*; and the Bastarnæ and Scordisci

The Celtic
once the
universal
language in
Europe.

* *Dextero Suevici maris litore Æstiorum gentes aluuntur: quibus ritus habitus Suevorum, lingua Britannicæ propior.* Tacit. Germ. xlv.

who

who lived on the Danube, differed not much in their language from the *Æstiones* †. The Britons, in the days of Tacitus, spoke a dialect of the Celtic little different from that of Gaul ‡; the Gothini of Silesia retained the marks of their Gallic origin in their tongue §. The inhabitants of Spain, if we except the Iberians, were Gauls or Celtæ, and must of course have spoken a dialect of the language of Gaul ||; and the Gallo-Græci of the lesser Asia, being in some measure the descendants of the Bastarnæ and Scordisci, must have retained a part, at least, of the tongue of their ancestors *. From the pillars of Hercules to the mouth of the Danube, from the Hellespont almost to the Baltic, one language, though in a great variety of dialects, prevailed; and, from that circumstance, should no other proof be produced, we may conclude, that all the nations who possessed that immense extent of country sprung originally from one and the same source.

The Latin descended from it in part.

It is more natural to suppose that the Latin owes, in part, its origin to one of the dialects of the great and

† Scordisci Galli. Strabo, lib. vii. Bastarnæ Scordiscis lingua et moribus æquales. Livius, lib. xl.

‡ Sermo haud multum diversus. Tacit. Agric. xi.

§ Gothinos Gallica lingua coarguit. Tacit. Germ. xliii.

|| Galli occidua Europæ usque ad Gades incolunt. Strabo, lib. ii.

* Justin. xxxii.

general tongue which pervaded ancient Europe, than that it was formed by a few vagabonds who assembled together, for self-defence, on the shores of the Tiber. Some visionary pedants have been known to attempt the creation of a new language; illiterate men have always contented themselves with that which has been transmitted to them by their ancestors. In the progress of society, in the growth of inventions, a language is polished in its phrases, and enriched in the number of its words; but its first rude elements remain in its primitives, and serve to point out the fountain from which it originally flowed.

The Language of Ancient Britain.

Time, which effectuates a change in every thing, has a peculiar influence on language. In the less polished periods of society it grows gradually with advancing civilization; and, like those who speak it, it becomes corrupted through improvement. When literature and philosophy arrive at their height, for even these, like all human inventions, have their bounds, men of genius, as it were, arrest language in its progress, and secure, by their writings, its permanency to future ages. They put their seals upon it, and send it down to posterity in a kind of independence on accident. Before the establishment of literature, or where it is imperfectly known, language,

General reflections.

who lived on the Danube, differed not much in their language from the *Æstiones* †. The Britons, in the days of Tacitus, spoke a dialect of the Celtic little different from that of Gaul ‡; the Gothini of Silesia retained the marks of their Gallic origin in their tongue §. The inhabitants of Spain, if we except the Iberians, were Gauls or Celtæ, and must of course have spoken a dialect of the language of Gaul ||; and the Gallo-Græci of the lesser Asia, being in some measure the descendants of the Bastarnæ and Scordisci, must have retained a part, at least, of the tongue of their ancestors *. From the pillars of Hercules to the mouth of the Danube, from the Hellespont almost to the Baltic, one language, though in a great variety of dialects, prevailed; and, from that circumstance, should no other proof be produced, we may conclude, that all the nations who possessed that immense extent of country sprung originally from one and the same source.

The Latin descended from it in part.

It is more natural to suppose that the Latin owes, in part, its origin to one of the dialects of the great and

† Scordisci Galli. Strabo, lib. vii. Bastarnæ Scordiscis lingua et moribus æquales. Livius, lib. xl.

‡ Sermo haud multum diversus. Tacit. Agric. xi.

§ Gothinos Gallica lingua coarguit. Tacit. Germ. xliii.

|| Galli occidua Europæ usque ad Gades incolunt. Strabo, lib. ii.

* Justin. xxxii.

general tongue which pervaded ancient Europe, than that it was formed by a few vagabonds who assembled together, for self-defence, on the shores of the Tiber. Some visionary pedants have been known to attempt the creation of a new language; illiterate men have always contented themselves with that which has been transmitted to them by their ancestors. In the progress of society, in the growth of inventions, a language is polished in its phrases, and enriched in the number of its words; but its first rude elements remain in its primitives, and serve to point out the fountain from which it originally flowed.

The Language of Ancient Britain.

Time, which effectuates a change in every thing, has a peculiar influence on language. In the less polished periods of society it grows gradually with advancing civilization; and, like those who speak it, it becomes corrupted through improvement. When literature and philosophy arrive at their height, for even these, like all human inventions, have their bounds, men of genius, as it were, arrest language in its progress, and secure, by their writings, its permanency to future ages. They put their seals upon it, and send it down to posterity in a kind of independence on accident. Before the establishment of literature, or where it is imperfectly known, language,

General reflections.

language, having no standard by which it can be fixed, fluctuates with the changing manners of the society ; and the longer it runs down through time, it departs the further from its primitive simplicity.

Cause of diversity of dialects.

To this circumstance, and not to a difference of origin, we must ascribe that diversity of dialects which Julius Cæsar found in Gaul. The Aquitani * were not understood by the Belgæ, nor could the Celt, at the foot of the Alps, hold any conversation with the Gaul at the mouths of the Rhine ; yet no writer has ever affirmed that all Gaul was not possessed by one and the same people, though divided into separate states. The truth is, the identity of languages does not consist in their being mutually understood by the nations who speak them, but in the similitude discernible between the names of things which are common to all countries, and to every stage of society †. The Doric of Syracuse was not intelligible at Miletus ; the Dutch can hold no discourse with the Silesians ; yet the Sicilian and Ionian were Greeks ; and one and the same nation possesses the upper and lower Germany.

* Οἱ Ἀκουῖται διαφέρουσι τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ φύλου κατὰ γλῶτταν. Strabo, lib. iv.

† Strabo says, that the nations of Gaul differed very little from one another in point of language. Παραλλάττειν ἐνίοις ταῖς γλώτταις μικρόν. Strabo, lib. iv.

We have, in a preceding section, observed that Gaul and the lower Germany had sent colonies into Britain, at three different periods, before the arrival of the Romans in the Island. The posterity of these must have differed considerably from one another in point of language: The Gaël, who still exist in North-Britain and Ireland, passed from the continent before the arts of civil life had made any great progress in Gaul; and, in some measure, retain the unimproved language of their ancestors. The second colony were the posterity of those Gauls, who, being anciently settled beyond the Rhine, returned into the regions of the South, under the name of Cimbri. The Cumri of Wales are their descendants; and they preserve, in their tongue, a tincture of the Sarmatic of the East and North. The British Belgæ spoke that dialect of the language of Gaul which still subsists among their posterity in lower Britanny. The three dialects which we have just mentioned, have been thought by many learned writers to be the only genuine remains of the ancient Celtic; and others have added to these the language of the mountaineers of Asturias and Galicia. Some have even gone so far as to affirm that these four languages are reciprocally understood by the Scots, Irish, and Welsh, the inhabitants of Britanny, and the Spaniards who border on the Bay of Biscay.

Three in
Britain at
the arrival
of the Ro-
mans.

Observa-
tions on the
Biscayan,
Armorican,
Welsh, &c.

The opinion is not just: The Biscayan has not even the most distant connection with the Celtic; the other languages derive, it is certain, their origin from one source: they agree in many radical words, but their idioms are different. The Welshman is as ignorant of the Gaëlic as the Spaniard of Arragon is of the dialect of Dauphiny; and the Scot knows no more of the language of Brittany, than the inhabitant of Palermo does of the tongue of Portugal.—In vain have the learned had recourse to the rude dialects of the Celtic, which remain in Brittany and Wales, to form upon them some idea of that language. What they sought after with so much eagerness abroad, was every day in their hands at home. The language of the Romans sprung originally in part from the Celtic stock; and the French, Italians, and Spaniards speak, in some measure, to this day, the tongue of their Celtic ancestors. To render the first part of the position probable, is to prove the latter beyond the power of reply.

The Latin and Gaëlic compared.

Origin of
the Ro-
mans.

The Gallic Umbri *, and their posterity, the Tuscans and Sabins †, were in possession of a great part of the

* Bocchus absolvit Gallorum veterum propaginem Umbros esse. Solin. viii. Umbros veterum Gallorum propaginem esse Marcus Antonius refert. Servius in Æneid. xii.

† Zenodotus Træzenius qui Umbrorum historiam conscripsit narrat Sabinos pro Umbris appellatos. Dionys. Halic. lib. ii.

lower Italy before the foundation of Rome was laid. These were the same with the Aborigines, whose peculiar and rude manner of life bore testimony of their Celtic origin. When the Greeks, from their possession of the arts which they had received from Phœnicia and Egypt, began to multiply their numbers in Peloponnesus and the Islands of the Archipelago, they sent abroad colonies who settled on the shore of the lower Italy, and carried on some commerce in its ports. Out of the vagabonds of these two very different sets of men Romulus collected the founders of Rome. The mixed manners, and the mixed language of the Romans, prove their double origin, and furnish a kind of demonstration that the illustrious nation derived their blood from the Celtæ, as well as from the Greeks of Magna Græcia *.

The Latin derives many of its roots and primitive words from the Greek; it also draws some from the ancient Celtic. The Scots of Caledonia were never subdued by the Romans; and they had little connection with that illustrious people. The Roman language cannot be supposed to have penetrated where neither the

They derived in part their language from the Celtæ.

* Veresimile barbarici etiam generis reliquias nonnullas e vicinis et prisca incolis cum Græcis se conjunxisse. Dionys. Halic. lib. ii. Be that as it will, the Sabins were received into the city of Rome under Titus Tatius; and the Sabins were Umbri, and the Umbri Gaël.

literature nor the arms of Rome ever entered ; yet there is a wonderful similitude, if not a perfect identity, between many primitives in the Gaëlic, and others that correspond with them exactly in the Latin tongue. This circumstance seems to demonstrate, that the Gallic Umbri of Italy, who were partly the ancestors of the Romans, and the Gaël of Caledonia, who were the sole ancestors of the ancient Scots, swarmed originally from the same hive.

Latin compared with the Gaëlic or Caledonian tongue.

To prove the position by example, a short catalogue of corresponding words is subjoined in alphabetical order :

<i>Latin.</i>	<i>Gaëlic.</i>	
Aër	Aër	Air
Æs Æris	Eris *	Brafs
Ætas	Ette *	An Age
Agnus	Uan	A Lamb
Altus	Alt	High
Amnis	Amhon †	A River
Ancilla	Bancilla §	A Servant Maid

* Lhud's Archæ. Britan.

† Pronounced Avon.

§ From *Ban*, or *Bean*, woman ; and *Cilla*, pronounced *Killa*, servant.

It is observable that the C of the Latin is pronounced invariably like K in the Gaëlic language ; which is a kind of proof that the Romans pronounced it in the same way : for instance, the Latin *Cera* (wax) is pronounced KER in the Galic, though it is always written *Cér*.

Anguilla

Anguilla	A Ghellac	An Eel
Anima	Anim	The Soul
Aqua	Oicha	Water
Aquila	Acuil	Eagle
Arca	Arc	A Chest
Argentum	Argêd	Silver
Arma	Arm	Arms
Aro	Ar	To plough
Aurum	Ôr	Gold
Betula	Bêth	A Birch Tree
Bos	Bô	A Cow
Bulga	Bolg	A Budget
Bufo	Buaf	A Toad
Caballus	Cabul	A Sorry Horse
Cæcus	Caocha	Blind
Canis	Cana	A Whelp or Puppy
Cantor	Cainter	A Singer
Candela	Caindel	Candle
Cannabis	Cannab	Hemp
Carus	Cara	Dear
Caritas	Caritas	Friendship
Cæseus	Caife	Cheese
Capra	Cabhar	A Goat
Cathedra	Cathoir	A Chair
Catus	Catta	Cat

|| Lhud's Archæ. Britan.

Cella	Cealla	A Cell
Centum	Céd §	An Hundred
Cera	Cér	Wax
Cingulum	Cingul *	A Belt
Chorda	Corda	A String
Cicur	Ciocair	Tame
Circulus	Circul	A Circle
Columba	Colum	A Dove
Cortex	Cort	Bark
Creta	Creadh	Chalk
Cruor	Cru	Blood
Culex	Culac	A Fly
Culter	Cultair	Coulter of a Plough
Cuneus	Ceuna	A Wedge
Currus	Carru †	A Chariot
Cura	Curam	Care
Decem	Dêc	Ten
Dexter	Deas	Right
Dies	Di ‡	Day
Deus	Dia	God
Domus	Dom	A House

§ Or *Cént*, pronounced *Ként*.

* *Cingul*, pronounced *Kingul*, signifies literally any thing that is wrapped round the waist.

† From *Car*, turning round; in allusion to the wheels.

‡ As in *Di-Luan*, Monday.

Duo	Do	Two
Durus	Dur	Hard
Equus	Each	A Horse
Fagus	Fagia	A Beech Tree
Febris	Feabras §	A Fever
Floccus	Floccas	A Lock of Wool
Frater	Vrather	Brother
Fulmen	Folmhein	A Thunder Bolt
Fundus	Fôn	Ground
Gallus	Caollach	A Cock
Gladius	Claidhea	A Sword
Hora	Urh	Hour
Haſta	Aſtas	A Spear
Hordeum	Ordna	Barley
Lacus	Loch	Lake
Latro	Ladran *	Robber
Ligo	Leige	A Mattock
Linum	Lin	Lint
Lorica	Lurich	A Coat of Mail
Luna	Luan †	The Moon

§ From *Fea*, a vein; and *Bras*, quick; literally a quick pulse.

|| Literally *ruſhing fire*.

* From *Lader*, ſtrong; in alluſion to the force uſed by robbers.

† *Luan* is literally the full moon, from *Lan*, full.

Mala

Mala	Meil	The Jaw Bone
Manus	Main	The Hand
Mare	Moir ‡	Sea
Mater	Mather	Mother
Matutinus	Mattin §	Early
Mille	Mile	A Thousand
Mons	Monna	A Mountain
Nox	Noich	Night
Novem	Noif	Nine
Oceanus	Oicean	Ocean
Olor	Eola	Swan
Octo	Ochto	Eight
Ovum	Ouff	Egg
Quater	Ceather	Four
Quinque	Cuinc	Five
Rex	Ri	King
Sericum	Seric	Silk
Sex	Sé	Six
Septem	Secht	Seven
Sol	Solus	Light or the Sun
Sonus	Suain	A Sound

‡ *Môr*, greatness emphatically.

§ *Mattin*, literally good or precious light.

|| Pronounced *Aikean*, or *Aigén*.

Tellus

Tellus	{ Tallu or Tellur }	Earth
Taurus	Taru	A Bull
Terra	Tir	Earth
Tres	Tri	Three
Tu	Tu	Thou
Tumulus	Tûm	A Hillock
Turba	Turba	A Multitude
Undecim	Hûn-déc	Eleven
Viginti	Fighint	Twenty
Unus	Hûn	One

This catalogue might be extended to a much greater length, but nothing can be more tedious and unenter-^{A remark.}taining than a dry list of words. To remove every ground of supposition that the Scots of either of the British Isles borrowed any part of their language from the Latin it is necessary to observe, that almost every one word in the Gaëlic column is either a compound or derivative from some well known primitive in that language. The Gaëlic primitives are all monosyllables. Wherever a word of more syllables than one presents itself it is a compound; and all the adjectives are formed, by the addition of some termination or other, to a substantive noun.

To draw, in this place, a parallel between the ^{Reflections;} Gaëlic, the Welch, and the language of Brittany,
S f would

would not even have novelty to recommend it. The ingenious Mr. Lhud's comparative vocabulary is already in the hands of the curious; and to such as are not fond of philological disquisition it is sufficient to observe, that the three languages, though not reciprocally understood by the Scots, Welsh, and the inhabitants of Brittany, are evidently descended from that tongue which the nations of Gaul carried in their migrations to every quarter of Europe. It is even demonstrable, were not the subject foreign to this Introduction, that the Italian, Spanish, and especially the modern French, owe their origin, to speak in a confined sense, more to the ancient Celtic than to the Latin, which was itself, in part, a dialect of that language.

A N

I N Q U I R Y

I N T O T H E

O R I G I N O F T H E A N G L O - S A X O N S .

Preliminary Observations.

THE remote antiquities of the Saxons lie buried in the darkness which involved, in ancient times, the inhabitants of the northern Europe. Without the means of transmitting any account of themselves to posterity; at a distance from those nations who possessed the use of letters, their transactions were either lost in obscurity or disfigured with fable. In their progress towards the South, they gradually rose, as it were, from night; the light of history broke in upon them; and we see them, for the first time, in that rude form which a fierce combination of Barbarians wear in migration and depredatory war. After the soil and climate of Britain had attached them to fixed abodes, their natural ferocity was mellowed down by degrees; the arts of civil life began to appear; and they were among the first of the European nations who committed their

Obscurity of
the remote
antiquities
of the
Saxons.

history to writing, and even whose transactions were worthy of being recorded.

Apology
and design

The character, private life, and government of the Anglo-Saxons, after their settlement in this Island, furnish an ample field for disquisition; the monuments which remain of their history on the continent are few in number; and the subject itself is, in some measure, barren, from its high antiquity. But as nothing that concerns a people who have made so great and splendid a figure can be uninteresting, either to themselves or the world, the Author of the Introduction hopes to screen his own want of abilities behind the importance of his subject. He even presumes to think that he has thrown some additional light on those antiquities which he has endeavoured to represent in their least forbidding form. Should his confining himself to the history and manners of the Saxons in their rudest state be the chief objection to his work, he may perhaps remove it by descending hereafter into a more fruitful period: should the objection, on the other hand, arise from any defect in himself, he will derive some happiness from the thoughts of having spent but little time, in a province where he failed to please.

of the
Author.

To investigate the origin of the Anglo-Saxons, to pursue their progress from Scandinavia with precision, it may not be improper to throw together some reflections on the
fall

fall of the Romans; the decline of whose power opened the regions of the West to the migrations of the Barbarians of the northern Europe.

Reflections on the Fall of the Romans.

The Romans differed not more from other nations in the rise and progress, than in the extent and permanence of their power. The fall of the republic, by melting down into one mass all distinctions of party, gave stability and weight to the state, when it destroyed the importance of the members of which it was composed. Feeble and corrupted in the center, the empire threw all its vigour and strength into its frontier, and became formidable abroad in the midst of domestic decay. The disputes about the purple, though frequent and bloody, were but partial shocks; they agitated and disturbed, but did neither break nor ruin the great fabric of the state. The storms were violent, but they did not last long; and things were soon restored to their original balance by the tranquillity of absolute government.

Cause of the stability of the Roman empire.

The despotic empires of Asia raised by the abilities of one prince, fall through the weakness of another: the fate of the state is involved with the life of the monarch, and when he dies in battle, or by the hands of the assassin, the great body, of which he was the head, submits to a foreign conqueror, or separates into petty principalities.

In what different from other monarchies.

lities under domestic tyrants. The imperial authority at Rome stood upon a more solid foundation. When the Julian family reduced the Roman republic into an empire for themselves, they did not change in appearance the ancient form of government. Though a new power started up in the state, all the old offices remained. Despotism had the decency to cover oppression with a mask, and to execute its most rigorous plans through channels neither unknown nor formidable in the days of freedom. The power of the first Cæsars consisted in influence; and an overawed and venal senate were the obvious instruments of their tyranny.

Why the
permanency
of the em-
pire

The interference of the imperial authority was confined to matters of state. The detail of inferior government, the course of justice between individuals remained in the possession of ancient forms. The oppressions of the worst of the Cæsars scarce ever extended beyond the walls of Rome; and the provinces which had languished under the exactions of republican præfects flourished under the lieutenants of a Caligula and a Nero. Though vested with the sacredness of his tribunitian authority, no laws could bind the emperor, the empire itself was governed, in fact, by a regular system of laws; and therefore, when the tyrant fell, the state was not involved in his ruin.

did not de-
pend on the
fate of the
prince.

There was one other cause which prevented the permanence of the empire from depending on the fate of the prince. The hereditary succession, which the Julian family

family endeavoured to establish, expired with Nero; and the suffrage of the army, confirmed by the approbation of a timid and complying senate, became the only necessary title to the throne. Men raised by accidental influence to the imperial dignity, though they enforced obedience, could command neither respect nor attachment from a people among whom they themselves had been so lately numbered as private persons. The multitude, who are, in every age and nation, the great supporters of hereditary monarchy, found no resting-place for their loyalty in the fluctuations of imperial succession; and they acquiesced, without reluctance, in the government of any ambitious leader, who had paved his way to the purple by private treachery or by open force.

One of the best of those, who held the reins of government at Rome, hastened the dissolution of the empire more than the very worst of his predecessors. The first Antonine, by extending the freedom of the city * to all the provinces, broke down the fence of distinction which, even in the midst of degeneracy, protected some small remains of the old Roman spirit. When the exclusive privilege of citizens was no longer confined to Italy, the awe which the conquered nations had for the original seat of greatness gradually decayed. When, to be born with-

The extension of the freedom of the city the first cause of decline.

* Dion Cassius says, that this was the act of Antoninus Caracalla, but other writers of credit affirm the contrary. It was only, perhaps, the freedom of Latium that was extended to the provinces by Antoninus Pius; that of the city by Caracalla.

in the walls of Rome no longer conferred any peculiar immunities, that mysterious tie, which bound the attachment of the citizen himself to the residence of his ancestors, was broken; and the veneration once annexed to the Roman name became naturally feeble, when the name itself was diffused over half the world.

The absence
of all spirit
in the pro-
vinces.

But this cause of dissolution was neither obvious in its commencement nor rapid in its progress. The total absence of all spirit in the provinces balanced, for some time, its decline in Italy. The debility which tyranny and luxury carried from Rome through all its dominions, even contributed, though the opinion is singular, to the permanency and stability of the empire. The conquered nations, by being deprived of their arms, applied themselves to those enervating arts which, by administering to luxury, deprave when they polish the human mind. Timid and habituated to submission, they fell in love with the tranquillity of despotism; and in a kind of determination to continue slaves, they became indifferent about the title and virtues of their tyrant. The news of his accession was enough to establish the authority of any prince in the most distant regions of the empire; and many provinces were so dispirited and passive, that a military force was found altogether unnecessary to secure their obedience. No attempt at independence could be made by such an inactive body. Men were either ignorant of the natural rights of their species, or meanly resigned them for the abject security of servitude.

The

The infectious debility which had seized the other subjects of Rome, did not, for some centuries after the extinction of liberty, overwhelm its armies. Born in the more distant parts of the empire, and stationed on its frontier, the soldier was a stranger to those enervating vices which extinguish the martial spirit. When the legions followed an ambitious leader to Rome, a dismissal from service was the common reward of their fidelity ; and if they were depraved by licence they were soon dissipated and lost in the general imbecillity of the body of the people. They were succeeded in the prefidial provinces by new levies of hardy and uncorrupted barbarians, who preserved an appearance of vigour in the extremities of the empire, after the center had exhibited every symptom of political decay.

The general debility spreading to the army.

The impolitic vanity of Constantine, in removing the seat of empire to a new capital, gave a mortal blow to the Roman state. The senate, whose consequence and authority had declined with their virtue, were, in some measure, annihilated by being transplanted to another place. The name, even the very walls of Rome, contained something within them which commanded obedience from the provinces. The opinion which supports all government was destroyed, by turning the attention of the people to a quarter to which they were not accustomed to look. They were habituated to obey implicitly

The removal of the seat of government,

citly the mandates of Roman emperors and Roman senates; but to Bizantine princes and assemblies they paid only that cold and unwilling obedience which force extorts from slaves. To complete at once the ruin of that mighty fabric which the policy and virtue of ancient Rome had raised, Constantine, by creating new offices and by changing the names of many of the old, altered the constitution of the Roman government. This prince, in short, who covered with splendid exploits, in public life, the meanness and even wickedness of his private character, was more fatal to the permanency of the Roman power, especially in the West, than the most wretched and impolitic of his predecessors in the imperial dignity.

gives a mortal blow to the empire.

Julian, though endued with all the spirit, abilities, and even virtues of the old Romans, came too late into the world to stop the rapid progress of the state to its decline. His untimely death extinguished the last hopes of Rome. The vigour and prudence with which he conducted his measures in his early youth serve only to shew what he might have been in his riper years. Had he lived, there was a chance for the future permanency of the empire, a certainty of its temporary greatness. He fell, and the whole fabric of Roman power nodded to its fall when he died. The circumscribed abilities of some of his successors supported, for a few years, a part of the venerable ruin; but with every rude blast that rushed from

from the North and East some shattered fragment fell. Province was cut off after province, till the mutilated body at last expired, when Rome itself was taken and sacked by the Goths.

General Reflections on the Sarmatæ.

The bad policy of Constantine and the imbecillity which gradually arose from advanced civility and slavery, though they were the great, were not the only, cause of the ruin of Rome. The Barbarians of the North and East, who have even pervaded the regions of Asia itself with their migrations, gave the finishing blow to a state already tottering to its fall. Wandering like beasts of prey on the skirts of their own deserts, they saw the luxuries which prevailed within the Roman pale, and they made many attempts to break into the fold. Whilst vigour and discipline remained among the legions on the frontiers, they repelled with ease the irregular incursions of the naked Tartars of the North and East. But after the general effeminacy had extended itself to the army, enemies who, in the better days of Rome, were despised, became formidable and victorious. The fence being once broken down, the deluge soon spread over the provinces of the West; and that great fabric which was the work of many centuries, fell in less than the space of one.

Of the Barbarians who were the secondary cause of the fall of Rome.

The obscurity in which they were involved.

It were in vain to attempt to penetrate the darkness which involved, at home, the Sarmatæ, who succeeded the Romans in the regions of the West. Destitute of means of conveying their own annals to posterity, the first feeble light of history was thrown upon them when they shewed themselves, in a hostile manner, on the frontiers of the empire. The writers who have sent down the earliest account of their invasions, astonished at their appearance, and alarmed at their cruelties, seem to have been more anxious to describe what they then were than what they had formerly been. They pushed not their inquiry into the origin of Barbarians whose ravages conveyed the first news of their name; and they were little solicitous about examining into the previous history of a rude race of men, whose incursions into the Roman territories were perhaps their first public transaction. To supply, in some measure, this defect in the latter writers of Rome, we must return to antiquity, and recapitulate some part of what has been already advanced concerning the state of Ancient Europe.

Europe possessed originally by the Celtæ and Sarmatæ:

When the Greeks and Romans had extended their inquiries beyond the Danube and the Alps, they found, in the vast track of country which they distinguished by the name of Scythia, two nations different from one another in manners, customs, and language. To the inhabitants of the regions of the East and North-East of the Danube they gave the name of Sarmatæ; the Celtæ extended

tended themselves to the West and the ocean. The character of the Sarmatæ, and their manner of life, was as opposite to those of the Celtæ as the barbarism common to both could permit.

The Sarmatæ, like the Celtæ, made war the business of their lives; but their troops consisted altogether of cavalry. They were so much addicted to riding* that they, in some measure, lost the use of their limbs †. They held their assemblies, transacted their affairs, they ate, they even slept on horseback ‡. The flesh of their favourite animal, the horse, was numbered among their greatest delicacies; his blood mixed with milk was their most delicious beverage §. Before their migration to the South they wore the loose stole of the East, which descended down to their heels; their arms consisted chiefly of the bow and the arrow ||. They were given to polygamy**.

the contrast
between
their charac-
ters.

* Sarmatæ equo viventes. Tacit. Germ. xlvi.—Equis prope affixi Sarmatæ. Amm. Marcell. lib. xxxi.

† Zozim. lib. iv.

‡ In ipsis (equis) cibum sumunt et potum, et inclinati cervice angustæ jumenti, in altum soporem ad usque varietatem effunduntur somniorum. Et deliberatione super rebus proposita feriis, hoc habitu omnes in commune consultant. Amm. Marcell. lib. xxxi.

§ Sanguinis potator equini. Virg. Georg. iii. Plin. lib. xviii.

|| Pausan. Attic. xxi.

** Connubiis mixtis utuntur Sarmatæ. Tacit. Germ. xlvi.

Their

Their wives accompanied them to battle as well as to war * ; and their daughters, a singular mark of the ferocity of their manners, were debarred from marriage until they had slain an enemy in the field †. The character of the Celtæ was, in some respects, in the other extreme. Though they were not unacquainted with the use of cavalry, their chief strength consisted in foot. They drew their subsistence from their flocks and herds, from the chase, and the produce of their lands. Their dress was fashioned to the shape of their bodies and limbs; and, in place of the bow and arrow, they carried the buckler and spear to war. Polygamy was unknown among them; and though their wives and daughters accompanied them in their expeditions, women never engaged in battle but in the worst extreme of fortune ‡.

Boundaries
of their re-
spective do-
minions.

The European branch of the Sarmatæ, whose manners and character betray their Tartar origin, extended themselves over Poland §, the western Russia, and the

* Gens bellatrix, libera, indomita, et usque eò immanis atque atrox ut fœminæ etiam bella cum viris ineant. Pomp. Mela, lib. iii.

† Arcus tendere, equitare, venari, puellaria pensa sunt; ferire hostem adultarum stipendium est; adeo ut non percussisse, pro flagitio habeatur, sitque eis pœnæ virginitas. Pomp. Mela, lib. iii. — Ἐν μέντοι τοῖς νεκροῖς τῶν βαρβαρῶν, (Vandalorum) καὶ γυναικῶν σώματα ὠπλισμένα εὐρέθη. Dion. Cass. lib. lxxi.

‡ Vid. Character, Manners, &c. of the Ancient British Nations.

§ Vistula amne discreta Sarmatia. Pomp. Mela, lib. iii.

regions between the Baltic and the extremities of the North. The Celtæ possessed the western Europe, Spain, Gaul, Italy, the British Isles, and a great part of Germany. These two great nations meeting one another on their frontiers, formed a third race of men, whose character, manners, and language, bore the strongest mark of their mixed origin. Such were the Peucini, the Venedi, and Fenni of Tacitus, who, though classed among the old Germans, were tinctured with the loose manners, and characteristical dirt and laziness of the Sarmatæ †.

In the period of time between the days of Tacitus and the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the mixed breed of the Celto-Sarmatic Germans of the North became so numerous on the shores of the Baltic, that, under the name of Vandals and Marcomanni ‡, they advanced into Pannonia, crossed the Danube, and ravaged the Roman territories §. The emperor opposed them in person, and after, in his second expedition, he died at Sirmium, the Barbarians were driven back by the valour

Progress of
the Sarmatæ
to the South.

† Peucinorum, Venedorum, et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam dubito. Sordes omnium ac torpor; procerum connubiis mixtis, nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum foedantur. Tacit. Germ. xlvi.

‡ Marcommani signifies *horse-men* in the Celtic language; a proof of their Sarmatic origin.

§ Pannonias ergo, et Marcomannis, Sarmatis Vandalis extinctis, fervitio liberavit. Capitolin. in Antonin. Philosoph. xvii.

and

and conduct of Pertinax, who commanded in Dacia and the two Mæfias ||. Recruited by new migrations from the Sarmatæ beyond the Vistula and the Baltic, they attempted to break into the Roman dominions in the reign of Commodus, but with no success: Maximin and Dioclesian obtained signal victories over them *; and, in short, as long as the empire retained any vigour on its frontier, the legions found means to repel the predatory armies of the northern Sarmatæ.

The ancestors of the Barbarians who overturned the empire.

The enemies with whom the Romans contended in the decline of their empire, were far from being the same race of men who opposed them when they first penetrated with their arms beyond the Alps. The whole dominions of the Celtæ, excepting a part of Germany, the northern Britain, and Ireland, fell under the power of Rome during its political vigour. The Sarmatæ of Scandinavia, with that fondness for migration which they exhibited in all ages, advanced gradually into Germany, and, being stopt in their progress by the legions stationed on the Rhine and Danube, settled between the Baltic, the ocean, and the two great rivers just mentioned, and rose into various petty nations, whose manners bore evident marks of

|| Καὶ ἡγήσεν (scilicet bello Vandalico et Marcomannico) ὁ Περτίνᾱξ.
Dion. Cass.

* Ab aquilone barbaræ feræque nationes Sarmatarum domitæ.
Pomp. Lat. lib. lxxi.

their mixed origin. The blood of the Sarmatæ seems however to have most prevailed ; for the language and character which the Barbarians who overturned the empire carried with them into the South of Europe were much more nearly allied to the Sarmatic Tartars of the East than to the Celtic nations who possessed the West. The writers therefore who affirm, that the present language of Germany is the remains of the old Celtic, deceive themselves and the public. The truth is, the modern Germans are almost as little concerned in those barbarous tribes, whom Tacitus so elegantly describes, as the Turks of Peloponnesus are in the history and manners of the ancient Spartans.

Origin of the Anglo-Saxons.

The Goths and Vandals, who made such a great figure in Europe, originally possessed a part of that immense tract of country which lies between the Baltic and the northern ocean †. In a period of remote antiquity they quitted their ancient seats in Scandinavia, and seized on the southern shore of the Baltic from the mouth of the Vistula to the Elb and the German ocean. The Vandals were the principals in this great

Goths and
Vandals.

† Ex Scanzia, cum regi suo, nomine Berich, Gothi quondam memorantur egressi. Jornandes sub initium libri de rebus Gothicis.

Gothi siquidem, Wandalique, nec non etiam aliæ feroces et barbaræ nationes e Germaniâ ab insulâ quæ Scandinavia dicitur prodierunt. Paul. Diac. lib. i.

migration, which must have happened a considerable time before their first appearance on the confines of the Roman dominions in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Their situation in Germany was to the West of the Goths; and they were subdivided into a variety of small communities ‡, each of which made a distinguished figure in the inundation of Barbarians which overwhelmed the western empire after the death of the first Theodosius.

Origin of
the Angli;

The Angli, from whom the majority of the English nation derive their blood, and the whole their name, were one of the small states which the Romans comprehended under the general name of Vandals. Tacitus has had the good fortune to have dignified his account of the Germans with the first mention of a nation who have since made such an illustrious figure in the world §. They, however, promised but little of their future greatness in the days of the elegant writer. He passes slightly over them in a catalogue of obscure tribes, who were remarkable for nothing but the peculiar worship they paid to Hertha, or the earth, well known to be the great goddess of the Scandinavian Sarmatæ, who were the ancestors of the Angli. They seem to have

‡ Vandeli, quorum pars Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, Angli, Guttones. Plin. lib. iv.

§ Aviones et ANGLI, et Varini, fluminibus et sylvis muniuntur. Tacit. Germ. xl.

been in possession of that part of the shore of the Baltic which extends from the Vekel to the Drave. The Elb bounded their territories to the South; the tribe of Vandals distinguished by the name of Varini bordered with them on the East, and their friends and allies the Saxons lay between them and the German Ocean.

The Saxons derived their origin from the same source <sup>Of the Sax-
ons.</sup> with the Angli. The perfect identity in point of customs, manners, and religion, which subsisted between these two tribes, their unanimity in expedition and war, the facility with which they were lost in one another in their British conquests, prove, beyond dispute, that the names of Angli and Saxons were but two appellations for one and the same people. The western Vandals are, for the first time, mentioned under the name of Saxons by Ptolemy *, who flourished in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The signification of their name is involved in that impenetrable darkness which covered their original country, the ancient Scandinavia; and the learned men who have attempted to investigate its etymon have exposed their own ignorance without having thrown any light on the subject.

When the Roman empire began to decline, the Saxons, like the rest of the Sarmatic Germans, availed <sup>Their pro-
gress to the
South.</sup>

* Ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐχένα τῆς Κιμβρικῆς χρηστονήσου Σάξονες.

themselves of its debility, and indulged their natural love of depredation by descents on the coasts of the maritime provinces *. The situation of the Angli on the shore of the Baltic, that of the Saxons on the German Ocean, and the knowledge of naval affairs which both derived from the Suiones, who were their ancestors in Scandinavia, rendered them a troublesome enemy to the empire † a whole century before its fall ‡. During that period they gradually possessed themselves of the whole shore of the German Ocean from the Elb to the Rhine; and after the Franks had forced their way into Gaul, the Saxons succeeded them in their ancient seats in Germany, and formed an ample dominion in that country, before they found means to establish themselves in a better soil and climate.

Their history on the continent little known.

The history of the Saxons before their arrival in Britain is comprehended in the transient notice taken of their piracies by the writers of Rome. Like the other

* Σάξονες, οἱ πάντων δὴ καρτερώτατοι τῶν ἐκεῖσε γενομένων βαρβάρων, θυμῷ καὶ ῥώμῃ καὶ καρτερίᾳ τὰ περὶ τὰς μαχὰς εἶναι νομίζοντες, Καύχους μοῖραν σφῶν ὄντας εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων κατεχομένην ἐκπέμπουσι γῆν. Zosim. lib. iii.

† Erupit Saxonum multitudo, et oceani difficultatibus permeatis Romanum limitem gradu patebat intento. Amm. Marcell. lib. xxvii.

‡ The Franks and Saxons infested the coast of Gaul in the reign of Dioclesian. Eutrop. lib. ix.

nations

nations whose expeditions proved fatal to the power of the Romans they advanced in a cloud of darkness into the regions of the South. Ignorant of letters, they had not the means of transmitting any account of themselves to after ages, and those who could record their actions were the natural enemies of their fame. Neither is the loss which their posterity have suffered from this circumstance either considerable or to be much regretted. The Barbarians of the northern Europe carried scarce any virtue, except valour, into the conquered provinces. Their object was to get settlements for themselves, and not to procure subjects; and to obtain the former, they exercised every species of inhumanity against the latter. Time, however, has, in its progress, worn off their ferocity; and the nations of modern Europe have been rendered independent of the absence of history among their ancestors by their own proper fame.

RELI-

R E L I G I O N

O F T H E

A N G L O - S A X O N S .

Preliminary Observations.

General
reflections.

WERE the universality of superstition a conclusive argument in favour of religion, all scepticism, on a subject so important, would have been long since at an end. Mankind, in every stage of society, are given to enquiry; but the success of their researches is only in proportion to the degree at which the cultivation of philosophy has arrived. Amazed at the works of nature, astonished at themselves, they wish to trace the origin and government of both to their source; and, rising through a chain of effects to a first cause, they wander beyond the limits of reason, and lose themselves in clouds and in darkness. In the haziness of this extra-rational region, if the expression may be used, dwells Superstition, the prolific mother of the Gods of all barbarous nations.—When the human mind has received the last improvements of philosophy, it begins to be ashamed of its former credulity. The
grim

grim powers to whom ignorance and fear gave being, vanish from all their shrines. An active, first principle, which cannot be explored, is left beyond the bounds of reason; and men sit down in silence, after having made a mortifying discovery of the finitude of their own knowledge.

The scepticism, in matters of religion, which frequently proceeds from too much philosophy, is not altogether confined to theorists in polished society. Nations not much advanced in other improvements, have been known to pay no worship to a superior Being. Immersed in ignorance, or too modest in their opinions of their own importance, they either could frame no adequate conception of a divinity, or they thought him too much exalted to think of human affairs. The Cal-laici* of Spain formed no ideas on the subject of religion: And the inhabitants of the southern regions of Æthiopia, in the days of Strabo, paid no veneration to any God†. The Sun himself, who, from his use and splendour, bids fair to command the respect of Barbarians, they execrated and detested, as the source of uneasiness and disease‡. The Angilæ of Africa placed

On religion.

* Ἐνιοὶ δὲ τοῦς Καλλαϊκοῦς ἄθεοι φασί. Strabo, lib. iii.

† Τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν διακεκαυμένην καὶ ἄθεοι νομίζονται εἶναί. Id. lib. xvii.

‡ Ὅς γε καὶ τὸν ἥλιον φασὶν ἐχθαίρειν, καὶ κακῶς λεγείν. Id. ibid.

no divinity in the heavens. They swore by spirits dwelling under the ground; they consulted their pretended oracles, and addressed to them their prayers *. But instances of national atheism are few. The superstitious fears inherent in human nature, and a conviction of some first cause carried home, by natural reason, to the mind, have formed divinities, and erected altars, in every corner of the world. Religion, among mankind in general, is even prior to regulation and law. They submit to the invisible government of a Divinity, before they acquiesce in the more obvious authority of the magistrate.

Ideas of
Barbarians
on that sub-
ject.

The first ideas of Barbarians concerning a God are simple, and therefore just. Superstition grows as it comes down on the current of time; and vain imaginations start into Divinities on every side. Men of speculation rise in the progress of society, and form systems of religion out of the various opinions which lie floating on the human mind. To establish their tenets, heaven itself is called in to their aid. A pretended communication with the Divinity is inculcated with eagerness and success; and even the priest himself

* Angilæ manes tantum Deos putant. Per eos dejerant. Eos ut oracula consulunt; precatique, quæ voluerunt, ubi tumultis incubuere, pro responsis ferunt somnia. Mela, lib. i.

begins

begins at last to believe the tale which he has so often told. By means like these, Zoroaster became the founder of the Persian religion in the remotest times † : and Zamolxis, through the same path, ascended to the rank of a God among the Scythians.

The ignorance of the nations of the northern Europe Of the northern nations' has involved in darkness the founder of their ancient faith. That the religion of the Druids was new-modelled, after the powers of the human mind were in some degree cultivated, appears from the philosophical opinion which they entertained of God. To form no ideas of the Divinity as a personal existence, seemed to be an established article in their doctrine. The Sarmatæ beyond the Elb and the Baltic bear in their mythology, a characteristic mark of the superior ferocity of their manners. They considered their Divinities themselves as subject, like men, to the vicissitudes of fortune. Odin, the giver of bliss to fallen warriors, was himself one day to fall ‡. The paradise which received the souls of the heroes, upon their separation by violence from the body, was temporary and transient.

† Eudoxus atque Aristoteles prodidère, Zoroastrem sex millibus annorum ante Platonis mortem fuisse. Plin. lib. xxx.

Hermippus tradidit, Zoroastrem sex millibus annorum ante Trojanum bellum. Id. ibid.

‡ Eddæ, Mythol. xxx. et xlviii.

The sun and moon were to perish; the stars were to start from their spheres; and the Valhalla, which was the residence of Odin and his followers, was to be consumed in the general conflagration which was to destroy the world.

veneration
for their
priests.

Though the Gods of the Scandinavians had little business with the events of this life, the priests who offered sacrifice were very highly venerated ||. The mystical communications with heaven which the superintendants of the religion of every nation pretend to enjoy, procure them unlimited respect among the superstitious vulgar. Though to men whose great aim in life was to meet with a violent and honourable death, a knowledge of futurity seems to be of little consequence; the Sarmatic colonies on both the shores of the Baltic were much given to an examination into the will of the Gods by divination. This province was appropriated by the priest; and he appeared magnified through the mystical darkness which he artfully threw over his ceremonies. When the fortune of war was adverse, when the earth refused its usual produce of corn, the king was driven from his

|| *Flaminem eos suum non minus quam regem venerari.* Helmold. lib. i.

Majorem flaminis, quam regis, venerationem apud ipsos esse. Id. ibid.

Regem apud eos modicæ æstimationis esse, comparatione flaminis. Id. lib. ii.

throne;

throne ; but the office of the priest was perpetual, and subject to no change *. The priest conveyed the will of the Gods to mankind ; and the king and people depended upon his nod, and were to execute his commands †.

But, to wander no farther into dissertation ; the ro- A remark:
mantic opinions of the ancestors of the Saxons and Angli may, by their singularity, amuse. The design of the Introduction seems to impose the subject on the Author. He will observe that brevity in disquisition which is suitable to things rendered unimportant by their distance in antiquity ; and he hopes to throw light on a system of religion, which the assiduity of the learned has not hitherto extricated from absurdity and fable.

* Rex, ritu veteri, potestate depositâ, rem ovetur, si sub eo fortuna titubaverit belli, vel segetum copiam negaverit terra. At sacerdos est perpetuus, obnoxius discriminibus nullis, ut reges. Marcell. lib. xviii.

† Flaminem enim responsa perquirere, et eventus sortium explorare, illum ad nutum sortium et porro regem et populum ad illius nutum pendere. Helmold. lib. ii.

Gods of the Anglo-Saxons.

Men give
their own
characters to
their Gods.

Men not favoured with revelation, give their own passions and prejudices to the Divinities whom they adore. Brought up in battle, and habituated to blood, the Scandinavian Sarmatæ made their Gods as fierce and untractable as themselves. The character given of Odin differs in no respect from the pictures we have of those bold and intrepid warriors, who led their depredatory armies into the regions of the South. The Supreme Gods of other nations are represented as favourable to the existence of the human species. The chief title of the Odin was the *Father of the Slain* *. The events of this life, excepting the means of leaving it with renown and through violence, commanded little of the attention of his worshippers; and his dominion may therefore, in some measure, be said to begin in the hour of death.

Mode of
worship
among the
Anglo-
Saxons.

The mode of worship among the Saxons and their Scandinavian ancestors was as simple as their ideas of a Divinity were unrefined. A great log of unfashioned wood, perpendicularly raised in the open air, was the

* Walfader. He was also distinguished by several other sanguinary names. Sigmundur, the Giver of Victory; Audun, the Destroyer; Drepsvarpur, he that lays armies dead. Drouga Drotten, the Lord of Graves.

common

common representative of Odin. This symbol they distinguished by the name of *IRMUNSUL*, a word which, in their language, signified the universal pillar which sustains the world *. There is a kind of philosophy in this meaning, which agrees but little with the character of the sanguinary God. The eastern Sarmatæ, who worshipped him under the figure of a sword, formed more suitable ideas of a power who delighted in human blood †.

To worship the Divinity through symbols, and under human forms, or figures of animals, was not among the earliest improvements made upon natural religion. It was after superstition became an engine of ambition to the priest, that he amused his ignorant followers with grim images of a being, whom they could not otherwise comprehend. The northern nations were late in their reception of a mode of worship, which seems to have risen in a warmer climate than their own. They erected a log of wood ‡, a sword, or a spear, before

Origin of
images.

* *Truncum ligni non parvæ magnitudinis, in altum erectum sub dio colebant, patriâ eorum linguâ, IRMUNSUL appellant, quod latinè universalis columna quasi sustinens omnia.* Adam. Brem. vi.

† *Mars omnium Scytharum Deus. Ei pro simulacris enses.* Pomp. Mela, lib. ii.

‡ *Truncum ligni non parvæ magnitudinis in altum erectum.* Adam. Brem. vi.

them *, when they offered sacrifices and prayers to God, rather as a conspicuous mark in the center of the consecrated circle, than a representative of the supposed person of the power whom they adored. In established places of worship, an oak growing in the middle of a piece of ground, surrounded by a very thick hedge, was the object to which devotees turned their eyes in prayer †. The Gods were said to descend, at times, into this sanctified circle; but it was thought a kind of sacrilege to suppose, that the Divinity could be confined within walls, or that a human figure could give any idea of his person §.

Their three
Divinities.

The cloud which settled on the North of Europe after the decline of the Romans, prevents us from seeing distinctly the period in which images were introduced into the religion of its inhabitants. When, in their progress to the South, they began gradually to emerge from darkness, we discover the figures of Odin, Thor,

* Pro simulacris ensis. Pomp. Mela, lib. ii.

† Inter vetustissimas arbores vidimus sacras quercus, quæ dicatæ erant Deo terræ illius Pronen; quas ambiebat atrium et sepes accuratior lignis constructa, continens duas portas. Helmold. in Chronico Slav. lib. i. Ὅι δὲ ἀνειμενοὶ θεοῖς τόποι ἄλση καὶ τεμένη δεῖ ἔρκει. Pollux, lib. i.

§ Nec cohibere in parietibus neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimilare. Tacit. Germ.

Est PRONE deus ALDENBURG; quibus nullæ effigies expressæ. Helmold. de Sarmatis.

and

and Frea, in their places of worship *. These were the only powers dignified with temples and statues; though local intelligences were acknowledged and venerated. Enthusiasts in our present religion have unnecessarily found a Trinity in the mythology of the old Scandinavians. Their mistake proceeds from their zeal. Thor was only the title of Thunderer, annexed by all nations to the Supreme Divinity †. Odin was worshipped under that name as presiding over the regions of the air, as the ruler of tempests, the director of thunder, the lord of the weather, and protector and nourisher of the fruits of the earth ‡.

The Saxons and their Scandinavian ancestors having given human passions to Odin, accommodated him also

*Frea,
Odin's wife.*

* Suecis trium deorum erectæ imagines habebantur; Thor, Odin, et Frea. Ericus Olaus, lib. i.

Majores nostri tribus tantum diis contenti Thoro, Odino, et Frea. Stiernhook, de Jur. vet. Sueonum.

† Thor cum sceptro Jovem exprimere videtur. Adam. Brem. ccxxxiii.

‡ Thor præsidet in aëre, tonitrus et fulmina, ventos, imbresque, serena et fruges gubernat. Id. ibid.

Unum deum fulguris effectorem solum agnoscunt. Procop. Goth. lib. i.

Thorus primus et maximus deorum erat. Hic Jupiter fulmine potens. Stiernhook, de Jure vetusto Sueonum.

Odinus supremus et antiquissimus Asarum (deorum). Edda Island. Mythol. xviii.

Uodan ab universis Germaniæ (Scandinaviæ) gentibus ut Deus adoratur. Paul. Diac. Rer. Longob. lib. i.

with

with a wife *. Contrary to the practice of the Celtæ, they admitted a female Divinity into the catalogue of their Gods. The Angli, in the days of Tacitus, worshipped the earth, the mother of all, under the name of Hertha†; and it was the same Divinity who afterwards obtained the title of Frea, the spouse of Odin. Men who deduce every system of religion from rational principles, may rest the origin of that of the Saxons on philosophy. Odin was the irresistible principle which gives motion to every thing that breathes; and Hertha, Frea, or the Earth, furnished that portion of matter which is animated into living creatures by the active and pervading spirit, distinguished by the name of God.

Reflection
on the fan-
guinary cha-
racter of
Odin;

The philosophical idea formed originally concerning the active spirit, which was distinguished by the name of Odin, was probably the source from which his worshippers drew his sanguinary character. It was natural for the principle which animated portions of matter, to discover a tendency of returning to the place from whence it came. The Brahmins of the East seem to convey, in their doctrine concerning the immortality of

* Frea uxor perhibetur Wodani. Paul. Diac. lib. i. Vid. Saxo-Grammatic. lib. i.

Illa fuit septentrionis Venus. Cluver. Germ. Antiqua.—Frea seems to derive its origin from *Frau*, the German word for Woman.

† Γῆ μήτηρ πάντων Δημήτηρ πλουσιόδοτειρα. Orpheus.

the soul, that the portions of the GREAT SOUL, which animate men and animals, have as much tendency to the center of the active principle called God, as bodies have to the center of the earth. This might have been a tenet of the religion of Scandinavia before it was corrupted in falling down through the current of time. In any other way, it is difficult to account for the contempt of death which distinguished the followers of Odin. Their philosophers, in a period beyond the reach of our information, had inculcated upon their minds, a belief that unhappiness could only exist in that state which separated the human soul from the fountain from which it came.

The character, so opposite to Odin, given of Frea, On the mild character of Frea. or the Earth, seems to strengthen this opinion. Her worship filled the minds of her devotees with sentiments very different from those which the bloody altars of Odin inspired. During the feast held in honour of Hertha among the Angli, and their neighbours on the Baltic, an universal joy was spread over the country. Benevolence and hospitality prevailed in every quarter. War and discord ceased; and it was then only that peace and quiet were either known or loved. The universal parent of mankind did not, they justly thought, delight in the destruction of her race; and

Y y

therefore

therefore every instrument of death was shut up during her supposed residence in the land. When she retired to her sacred grove, her warlike worshippers, whose bent to humanity was only temporary, recoiled with violence into their favourite occupation of slaughter and war*.

Topical
Divinities.

The Scandinavians, together with the three Divinities who were worshipped publicly under human forms, venerated inferior intelligences, who were thought to reside in natural objects. These topical deities were little better than the fallen angels, which the superstition of more enlightened times has dispersed over the world §. They were placed in storms and tempests, in hills, in fountains, in great bodies of water †. They were the active principles which moved the objects in which they dwelt; and the notice taken of them by the Anglo-

* In commune Hertham, id est, terram matrem colunt. Est in insula oceani castum nemus, dicatum in eo vehiculum veste contextum. Sacerdos adeste deam penetrali intelligit. Læti tunc dies, festa loca. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt, clausum omne ferrum. Pax et quies tunc tantum nota tunc tantum amata. Tacit. Germ. lx.

§ Θεοὺς μὲν τοὶ καὶ δαίμονας σέβουσιν οὐρανίους τε καὶ ἀερίους. Procop. Goth. lib. ii.

† Thulitæ complures genios venerantur; aëreos, terrestres, marinos, et alia minora numina quæ in aquis fontium et fluminum versari dicuntur. Procop. Goth. lib. ii.

Saxons and their ancestors, was rather a mark of respect than any formal worship ‡. They offered them no sacrifice, they addressed to them no prayer, but they regarded the portions of matter in which they were supposed to exist with silent reverence and awe.

This superstition derives its origin from philosophy. ^{Their origin.} The idea of the universality of the Divinity seems to have been the first principle in the religion of all nations. The Indians, the Egyptians, the ancient Greeks, the Celtic Druids, and Scandinavian mythologists, believed that the great INCOMPREHENSIBLE SOMETHING, which we distinguish by the name of God, created the world, and diffused itself like a soul through the whole body of nature †. The presence of this active principle was thought to be most conspicuous in the more strongly marked objects of the universe. God was worshipped where he was most clearly seen; and, as speculative opinions degenerate into absurdity in a succession of ages among the vulgar, separate intelligences were placed by the superstitious in those portions of matter which exhibited most beauty, activity, and force.

‡ Aërem et aquam venerantur; adorant autem tantummodo et deum nuncupant, qui cœlum et terram fecit. Theophyl. Simoc. lib. vii.

† Ὅτι διοικῶν αὐτόν καὶ ποιῶν θεός, δι' οὗ διαπεφοιτήκεν αὐτοῦ. Strabo, lib. xv.

A bad as well as a good principle in the religion of the Saxons.

There is nothing in which the religion of the Celtæ differs more materially from that of the Sarmatic Scandinavians, than that the latter placed a bad principle, as well as a good, in their mythology. This opinion seems to have had its rise in Asia. The Persian Magi inculcated it upon their disciples *; and it is one of the fundamental tenets in the creed of the Brahmins of India. The doctrine seems to have travelled round the Palus Mæotis into the eastern Europe; and to have been established on both the shores of the Baltic, by Sarmatic emigrants from beyond the Vistula and the gulph of Finland. The Druids were of opinion, that bad actions brought along with them their own punishment in this life. The Scandinavians placed an eternity of misery for the wicked beyond the RAGNA ROCKUR, or twilight of the Gods. The romantic descriptions given of these regions of darkness and sorrow in the Islandic Edda, shall be comprehended in a subsequent section.

Cause of that opinion.

The BAD PRINCIPLE admitted in the mythology of the eastern nations, and which the Sarmatic Tartars of the northern Asia carried into the regions beyond the Vistula and the Baltic, has its source in speculative ob-

* Ἀριστοτελὴς δὲν πρῶτῳ περὶ φιλοσοφίας πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς μαγούς, καὶ δύο κατ' αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀρχάς, ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα καὶ κακὸν δαίμονα. Diog. Laert. in Proœmio de Oromasde.

servations on the state of the universe. The first, the established and universal idea concerning the Supreme Being is, that he is GOOD ; but as EVIL apparently exists, it must have derived its origin from another cause. The Aremanius of the Magi, the Shiba of the Brahmins, the Eblis of the Arabians, were all the offspring of this opinion ; and the Hela of the northern nations, who received the wicked into her dismal abode, owed her being to that circumscribed philosophy which cannot distinguish partial disorders in the fabric of the universe from general evil.

Reflections on a future State.

Though prejudice and education have sometimes eradicated the fear of death from whole nations, the love of existence seems to be immoveably planted in the human breast. Pleased with themselves, and even fond of a life which they call miserable, men look forward to dissolution with a melancholy awe ; and are willing to place an eternity of being, beyond the grave. A prospect of immortality in another world soothes, at the same time, their vanity, and flatters their pride. The powers of the soul, which look forward to futurity, ought to carry their own existence into regions which they in some measure have explored ; and thus we derive

rive an argument of duration from the inherent vigour and ability of our minds.

immortality
of the hu-
man soul.

The doctrine of the immortality of the soul, we have already observed, is not coëval with man. It is the fruit of much speculation; it owes its origin to a considerable degree of philosophy. When the conveniencies of life, which grow with the progress of society, have given ease and leisure to some inquisitive individuals, they endeavour to examine the nature of that active principle which animates the human frame. Astonished at its powers, they believe it permanent; and the pleasing opinion is received with ardor by the rest of the world. Convinced of the perpetuity of the mind, they advance into an examination of its mode of existence. Destitute of facts, they resign this province to imagination; and, with a kind of natural absurdity, carry the joys and miseries of the present life into a state to which it bears not the least resemblance.

Philosophi-
cal opinions
of the Magi
and Brah-
mins

The more philosophical systems of religion speak only in very general terms of a future state. They even seem to cover, with obscurity and mystery, a subject incapable of explanation. The Magi of Persia, and the Brahmins of India, who in some measure agree in the doctrine that the soul of man is a portion of the
irresistible

irrefistible principle which pervades the body of the universe, place the chief happiness after death in a kind of absorption into the Divinity *. This mode of being, strictly speaking, is little better than annihilation itself. The soul, ceasing to be a personal existence, becomes a part of a great whole. Memory is defaced, all passions are utterly unknown, and consciousness is lost. Death, in short, according to the Brahmin philosophy, is a kind of reduction of all that composes man into first principles. The material parts are resolved into the four palpable and visible elements; and the invisible and subtle essence, which animates the human body, returns, to use their own expression, like a drop into the immense ocean from which it came.

This account of the future state of the soul is too philosophical to be generally understood, too uninteresting to individuals to please. The satisfaction which the pre-occupation of future happiness affords to the mind, is cut off; and that inducement to good actions, which arises from the hopes of reward, is destroyed. Religion is supported by terror; a cold and unwilling morality, proceeding from fear, occupies the place of virtue.—

too refined
and unsatisfactory.

* This state of absorption is the being blended with God, where all passions are utterly unknown, and where consciousness is lost. Dow's Dissertation.

The imaginations of the ignorant and enthusiastic form paradises more suitable for mankind, than those framed by the frigid definitions of philosophy. The Houries of Mahommed please the amorous Asiatic; and the drunken Scandinavian looks forward with eagerness to the ale quaffed in the hall of Odin.

Singular
opinions of
the Egyp-
tians

The ancient Egyptians differed in some measure from the opinions of the Brahmins, concerning the state of the dead. The soul of man, though a portion of the Divinity, was never to be absorbed into the immensity of God. They considered him as a personal existence, though diffused through all his works. They supposed that the soul, till all its desires and passions were vanished, was not permitted to appear in the divine presence. When a series of transmigrations had worn off its iniquities, it was delivered from its pilgrimage, and received into that pure and invisible something where all passion is lost in admiration. God became then its immediate conductor and lord. The soul derives its existence from his being, looks upon him for ever without satiety, and is ravished with his inexpressible beauty *.

These

* Ἀνθρώπων δὲ ψυχὰς ἐνταῦθα μὲν ὑπο σωμαίων καὶ παθῶν περιεχο-
μέναις οὐκ ἔστι μετουσία τοῦ Θεοῦ, πλὴν ὅσον θνείρατος ἀμαυροῦ θιγῆν
νοήσε,

These ideas are too refined for the bulk of mankind. ^{and Thracians.} The most barbarous nations have the most intelligible paradises. But no race, however rude and uncultivated, altogether agreed in their opinions upon a subject so speculative as the immortality of the soul. Some of the ancient Thracians believed, that departed souls, after a stated period, returned; some thought that they remained for ever in happy regions; and even some supposed, that they were extinguished at the death of the body. "But annihilation," said they, "is better than to live *."

The latter sect, we may presume, were not numerous; ^{Messengers to Zamolxis.} annihilation agreeing but little with human pride. The Thracians fabled, that the brave and just passed immediately from death to the presence of Zamolxis, who, from the rank of a philosopher, had ascended into that of a God. Zamolxis, in regions of happiness, presided over departed souls. He also interfered in the events of

νοήσει δια φιλοσοφίας· ὅταν δὲ ἀπολυθεῖσαι μεταβῶσιν εἰς τὸ αἰεδὲς δὲ ἀορατον, καὶ ἀπαδὲς καὶ αἰγνόν, οὗτος αὐταῖς ἡγεμὼν ἐστὶ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁ Θεός, ἐξηρτημέναις ὡς ἂν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δε θεωμέναις ἀπλήγως δὲ ποθοῦσαι τὸ μὴ φατὸν μηδὲ ῥητὸν ἀνθρώποις κάλλος. Plutarchus in libro de Iside.

* Una gens Thraces habitant, aliis aliisque præditi et nominibus et moribus. Alii redituras putant animas obeuntium; alii etsi non redeant, non extinguere tamen, sed ad beatiora transire; alii, emori quidem, sed id melius esse quam vivere. Pomp. Mela, lib. ii.

the present life ; and the mode of conveying to him their requests was at once singular and barbarous. Every fifth year there was a public assembly of the Thracians, and lots were thrown for a messenger to Zamolxis. He on whom it fell, received the embassy with joy. The requests of the nation to the God were communicated to the victim, and he was slain in the presence of the people †. Convinced of the happiness into which he was immediately to enter, his countrymen envied his fortune, more than they commiserated his fate. This extraordinary custom was the genuine source of the human sacrifices, which stain the character of the ancient inhabitants of the northern Europe.

† Οἱ δὲ Γέται, Θρηϊκῶν ἔοντες ἀνδρεώτατοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοι ἀθανάτουσι τὸν δὲ τὸν τρόπον· Οὔτε ἀποθνήσκειν ἐωϋτοὺς νομίζουσι, εἶναι τε τὸν ἀπολλύμενον παρὰ Ζάμολξιν δαίμονα Δια πεντετηρίδος δὲ τὸν πάλω λαχόντα αἰεὶ σφέων αὐτέων ἀποπέμπουσι ἄγγελον παρὰ τὸν Ζάμολξιν, ἐντελλόμενοι τῶν ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέωνται, &c. Herodot. lib. iv.

The Hall of Odin.

The doctrine of the transmigration of the human soul from one body to another, was a tenet which Pythagoras borrowed from the Druids of Gaul*. This kind of Palingenesia was however not general. It was a topic of dispute in philosophy, rather than an article of faith. As the former, it travelled across the Baltic, and obtained a place in the religious opinions of the ancient Scandinavians. It was soon dropt as absurd†. The Valhalla of Odin, and the dark regions of Hela, immediately succeeded this life. The first was a mansion of joy for the warlike; the latter a seat of misery and distress for cowards.

The Anglo-Saxons, and their ancestors on the continent, placed a double state of the soul after death‡; the one prior to the TWILIGHT OF THE GODS, the other

Reflections.
Double state
of the soul.

* Alexander, in libro de symbolis Pythagoricis, vult Pythagoram Gallos audivisse. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i.

† Credebatur antiquitus homines iterum nasci, illud vero nunc pro anili errore habetur. Edda Antiqua in Oda quæ *Helgaquida Hundings bana aunnur* inscribitur.

‡ Status animarum duplex; alius ante CREPUSCULUM DEORUM, alius post illud. *Edda Antiqua.*

after the dissolution of the world. The VALHALLA*, as the word imports, was a receptacle of felicity which received the souls of the slain in the hour of death. There Odin himself presided. An inexhaustible wild boar, which, though boiled every morning for dinner, remained at night entire, supplied his table†. Ale, the favourite beverage of the North, went round in the skulls of the enemies of his followers and friends§; the God himself being only indulged with the juice of the grape||.

Pleasures of
the Valhalla.

Though Odin was well supplied with wine, he partook not of the rest of the feast. Two wolves, which stood by his side, dispatched his share of the lard of the boar‡. The heroes, in the order of the time of their admission, sat around a table in his presence. They drank, with great conviviality and joy, ale of the best kind, and the strongest mead. The latter was produced by the goat HEIDRUN, which stood above the Valhalla, fed on the leaves of the celebrated tree called LERADER, and from her udder supplied every day a

* Valhalla, quasi FALLHALL, aula cœsorum. Edda Island.

† Sufficere illis queat lardum apri, qui Scrimner vocatur. Is quotidie elixatur, sed vespere integer remanet. Edda Island. Mythol. xxxiii.

§ In craniis inimicorum brevi bibam in præstantis Odini aula. Regn. Lodbrog.

|| Solus Odinus vinum bibebat. Edda Mythol. xxxiv.

‡ Nihil autem comedebat duobus adstantibus lupis. Id. ibid.

quantity sufficient for all the heroes *. In this state of daily festivity, the warriors were served at table by beautiful virgins called Valkyr. But the happiness derived by the friends of Odin from these young damsels, was not altogether confined to their ministration at the feast †.

War and arms, which were the delight of the Saxon in this life, continue to be his amusement in another world ‡. Battle was the daily pastime, slaughter itself the recreation of the blessed. "A cock, with a crest of gold," says the Voluspá, "crows every morning in the presence of the Gods. He awakes the heroes to battle before Odin the father of armies §." They rush, armed and clothed, to the field, and slay one another with mutual wounds. These deaths however are only

Occupation
of the he-
roes.

* Geit, su er HEIDRUN heiter, stendr uppi a VALHOLL ok bitr barr af limum tres thes er miog ei nafn freagt er LERADR heiter. Edda Mythol. l.

† Nomen illis erat VALKYRIARUM, quod Stragium electrices notat. Hæ virgines potum porigebant Mono-heroibus. Id. xxxi.

‡ Recreatio Mono-heroum hæc est mutiis sternentur cædibus. Hic illorum ludus. Id. xxxv.

§ Gol um asom, &c.

Cecinit circa Asas.

Aurea crista insignis;

Ille viros excitat ad arma,

Apud exercituum patrem, Odinum.

temporary.

temporary. The power of Odin revives the slain. At the approach of dinner, they start up as if nothing had happened, ride into the Valhalla, sit down together in the most friendly manner, and indulge themselves with copious draughts of mead and beer ||.

Cause of
burying
arms, &c.

As tradesmen are generally peaceable men, they were not often intitled by a violent death to the mansion of Odin. This circumstance induced the friends of the heroes to deposite in the graves of the slain defensive and offensive arms; and above all the sword*, to serve them in the daily battles of the Valhalla. The favourite horse of the dead was also burnt on the same pile with his master †; and this animal carried him to the regions of heroes. On him the warrior issued to the battles which were the pastime of the blessed; on him he rode into the Valhalla when the hour of dinner came ‡. The poorer soldier, who was not provided with a horse, was obliged to walk on foot from the grave to the Valhalla. To facilitate his journey along the Bifrösta, or rainbow, called the Bridge of the Gods, the SHOES

|| Instanti vero prandii tempore omnes incolumes in aulam equitant, et ad potandum confident. Edda Mythol. xxxv.

* Gladius vivis charissima suppellex ante omnia mortuos debebat comitari. Keyser Antiq. Selectæ.

† Hester var leiddr abalit med ollu reidi. Edda Mythol. xlv.

‡ Instanti prandii tempore in aulam equitant. Id. xxxv.

OF DEATH * were bound fast to his feet by his surviving friends. These were made of wood. Few of the Gods themselves were provided with leathern shoes †.

The Valkyrian virgins were the messengers of Odin ^{Virgins admitted into the mansions of Frea.} to the heroes whom he invited into his Valhalla. Without an invitation, it was not permitted even to the slain to come ‡. The heavens were divided into other mansions of joy. In these, subordinate intelligences presided, and administered bliss to the souls of men. Thor had his peculiar palace §: Frea her mansions of happiness. Into the residence of the first, those who were not invited by the fair messengers of Odin were admitted: Into the hall of Frea, that part of the female sex who carried their virginity to the grave ||.

But these inferior mansions were appendages of Odin's ^{Different mansions in heaven.} hall. The felicity of daily slaughter had raised the latter into unequalled eminence among a nation devoted

* Mos est calceos letales hominibus alligare, quibus iter ad Valhalla calcent. *Gisla Surssonar Sogu* de Vesteyni Exequiis.

† Solus Deus Vidarus calceis ex corio factis superbiebat. Edda Mythol. xxi.

‡ Virgines Valkyriæ eligunt, invitante in aulam. Eivind. Sealaspiller in Carm. Hacomar.

§ Edda Mythol. xix.

|| In Freæ aulam veniunt virgines. Id. xxii.

to

to war and blood. It was dignified with many names expressive of its beauty, magnificence, and splendour. It was called the dwelling of Gods *, the residence of the Asæ †, the palace of friends ‡, the place of gladness §, the world of joy. Though the souls of men were admitted into the Valhalla, it was reckoned a place of more dignity than the other mansions in heaven, which were appropriated to the inferior Gods. The ALFHEIMUR ||, or world of spirits, was less splendid than the Valhalla. BREIDDABLIC ** yielded to it in beauty; and, though the walls of GLITNER †† and its pillars were of solid gold, it was inferior in magnificence. KIMINBIORG stood, as the farthest distant, at the end of the heavenly bridge, where BIFROSTA, or the rainbow, touches the verge of the sky.—These were the joys which the Anglo-Saxons and their Scandinavian ancestors provided for departed souls, in the intermediate time between death and the twilight of the Gods.

* Godheim.

† Asgard.

‡ Wingulf.

§ Gladheimur.

|| Mundus Faunorum.

** The splendid quarter of heaven.

†† The citadel of heaven.

The Regions of Hela.

The bad principle which we find in the mythology of ^{Reflections.} the Anglo-Saxons had, as we have already observed, its origin in philosophy. That tendency to dissolution, or, more properly speaking, to renovation, which is perceptible in matter, brought the first conviction to mankind that nothing visible was perfect. But, as the Supreme Being must be considered as good and perfect, the opinion that a bad principle counteracted his operations naturally suggested itself to the mind. From the good principle men derived their happiness; to the bad they ascribed their misery. The first incited to virtue; the latter perverted to vice. The idea of a free agency, which revealed religion has established in modern times, was the result of pride among the Barbarians of ancient Europe. They were convinced that man was the first mover in his own actions; and they believed in future punishments as well as in future rewards.

In that province of the mythology of the Scandinavians which comprehends the state of the unhappy after death, we have but few lights to direct our way. It is doubtful whether the dominions of Hela were ^{The regions of Hela,}
A a a opened

opened immediately beyond the grave, or were placed at the dissolution of the world. As valour was the only virtue among the northern nations, cowardice was the only vice. The first intitled them to the joys of the Valhalla; the latter subjected them to an uncomfortable eternity in the regions of Hela. Though a death of violence was recommended by renown and religion, the love of life, which is natural to mankind, prevailed over this prejudice in the minds of the timid. More therefore descended to Hela than arose to Odin.

the recep-
tacle of those
who died of
diseases.

The coward who suffered himself to be taken off by disease, or to be extinguished by age, brought disgrace on his friends as well as misery upon himself. The relations of the aged often prevented the reflections, which might otherwise have fallen upon themselves, by putting them to a violent death. Children have been known to precipitate their parents from rocks‡, whilst the devoted persons exhibited every demonstration of gladness and joy†. This extraordinary mode of preventing future misery, by a violent death, was so common, that every family had its rock of execution appro-

‡ Liberi patrem et matrem ex rupe præcipites deturbarunt cum letitia et hilaritate ad Odinum pergentes. Gothrici et Rolfi Historia.

† In acie exultabant, tanquam gloriose et feliciter vita excessuri. Valer. Max. lib. ii.

priated to itself*. When worn out with age, when oppressed with disease, or overwhelmed with misfortunes, the spirited and manly adopted this abrupt method of passing to Odin's hall. The irresolute bore the misfortunes of this life with more patience, and sunk with ignominy from a natural death to the dominions of Hela.

Though no apology can wash away the stain which the blood of human victims has left on the hands of our ancestors, the peculiar opinion, that happiness in another world succeeded a death by violence, will lessen our horror against a practice so opposite to every idea of humanity. An uninterrupted acquaintance with danger added to that contempt of life, which a firm belief of an immediate entrance into the joys of Odin's hall had created in the mind. Death, in their opinion, was a blessing rather than a misfortune. A demise in battle, through suicide, or by the hands of the priest, procured equally an immediate admission into paradise. The persons who died of disease or of age were the only unfortunate. Self-preservation, that first principle of the human mind, vanished, in a great measure, before the strength of this extraordinary prejudice. The victims

Human sacrifices.

* Prope habitaculum rupes illi scopulus contiguus, quem nos profapiæ scopulum dicimus. Scopulus profapiæ dicitur quod ibi profapiam diminuamus cum inopina acciderant mala. Gothrici et Rolfi Historia, cap. i.

rejoiced in their fate ; and they seemed to court the blow which opened a scene of perpetual happiness to their souls. When danger rose to its height, it became, in every instance, a source of elevation and joy to the northern nations, as it brought within view a certainty of a permanent felicity in another world.

Women
precipitated
to Hela.

The ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons were not so complaisant to women as the Celtæ to the South of the Rhine. The softer sex were precipitated into the dominions of Hela, excepting a few who adopted a voluntary death with their husbands. Even indignity was added to punishment ; for the northern nations declared, that it was to prevent brawls and contention in the seats of the blessed *, they excluded their wives from the Valhalla. Servants were not admitted into the joys of Odin, without accompanying their masters by suicide. The aged, the diseased, the women and slaves, formed, in short, the whole of the inhabitants of Hela's dreary regions.

Description
of her and
her domi-
nions.

The description given of the dominions and person of Hela are full of fancy. " On the shores of dead bodies, remote from the sun," says the Edda, " there is

* Ne rixis earum omnia gaudia verterentur. Gautrecks Saga.

a spacious

a spacious and dismal hall, with its gates wide open to the northern winds. The walls are wattled with snakes, whose heads look inward and vomit poison. Rivers of this poison rush through the hall, which the unhappy are forced to ford. But in the worst condition are those who are precipitated into the inmost regions. They are tormented by the evil Demon, who dwells in the farthest darkness *." Hela, who presides over these baleful regions, is herself a figure expressive of suitable horror. One half of her frame is blue, the other bears the colour of the human skin †. Her aspect is fierce and terrible; her temper unrelenting and cruel ‡. To

* *Habitaculum novi stare
A sole remotum,
In cadaverum littoribus,
Boream versus spectant fores.
Aula contexta tergis serpentum
Capita introrsus spectant;
Et virus evomunt.
Amnes veneni manant per aulam,
Quos vadere coguntur infelices.
Verum in Haergumi
Pessima est conditio
Illic Nüdhoggur, &c.
Edda Mythol. xlviii.
Voluspa Stroph. xxxvi.*

† Hela ipsa una sui parte cœrulea, altera colorem retinet pellis humani. Edda Mythol. xxviii.

‡ Torva et truculenta Hela. Id. Ibid.

her,

her, Odin himself was carried on his horse Sleipner §. The God, when he made his appearance in the world in the form of a man, for these manifestations of the divine presence are common to all religions, thought it necessary to be slain, as an example to his followers, to acquire a title to the Valhalla by a violent death. The rigid goddess, who knew Odin's death to be a mere pretence, commanded him into her presence; and his mode of extricating himself out of her hands, forms one of the wild fables which compose the Scandinavian mythology.

Cause of
valour and
love of death
among the
Scandina-
vians.

The terror which Hela and her dominions impressed on the minds of the Anglo-Saxons and their ancestors in Scandinavia, was perhaps as great an inducement to valour and the love of death by violence, as were the joys of the Valhalla. Men however chose, for the sake of their reputation, to derive their contempt of life from the latter. To die with exultation and joy, under the torture or arms of an enemy, was as peculiar to the northern nations, as it was necessary to their renown. "The goddesses invite me," says Regner Lodbrog, "the Valkyrian goddesses, whom Odin has sent from his hall. The last hours of my life are passing away;

§ Ad hanc Balderus (Odinus) delatus. Mythol. xliv. Saxo, lib. iii.

with

with a smile I give up my soul †." This strange love of death rendered the means of attaining it by violence a source of uncommon joy. "The battle is as pleasing to me," says Lodbrog, "as to ascend the bed of a virgin in the glow of her charms; or to kiss a youthful widow in her most secret apartment *."

† Invitant me deæ Valkyræ
Quas ex aula sua
Odinus mihi misit.
Vitæ elapsæ sunt horæ,
Ridens moriar. Epiced. Regn. Lodbrog, Stroph. xxix.

* Erat sicut splendidæ virginis
Lectum ascendere;
Aut juvenem viduam
In secreta sede osculari. Id. xiv.

The Twilight of the Gods.

Reflections

Things that have a beginning naturally suggest to the mind an opinion that they must have an end. The productions of nature decline in the lapse of time: Mankind themselves are born and die. Every object around us hourly suffers change; and all things seem to have a tendency to dissolution. Men rise, in the chain of argument, from the want of permanency in the members of the universe, to a belief that the world itself must have its period. In the faith of the most barbarous nations, this tenet has always found a place. Zoroaster inculcated it upon the old Persians; the Druids delivered it to their Celtic followers; it obtains in the religion of the Brahmins; and it was firmly believed by the fierce inhabitants of ancient Scandinavia.

on the dissolution of the world.

An opinion that matter could be annihilated, was never admitted into their mythology. To be reduced to its first principles, was what they called the Dissolution of the World. The element of fire has the most immediate and apparent effect in this mode of reduction; and it was from that circumstance, that the northern nations believed that the universe should one day be destroyed

with flames.—The whole body of nature was not the only object of destruction; Odin himself was to perish amid the ruins of his own works. The inferior intelligences were also to fall; and the dark period, called the TWILIGHT OF THE GODS, was to succeed to the departed world †.

This dreadful calamity was to have been ushered in by various signs. The seasons were to change; a stormy winter was to possess all the year. Crimes were to increase among mankind; they were to be armed against one another in most cruel and bloody wars. Two wolves were at last to issue forth to devour the sun and the moon. The stars were to be shaken from the sky; the earth to stagger in its orbit. Then the monster FENRIN, born for the destruction of the Gods, was to break his chains ‡. BIFRÖSTA, or the Rainbow, which had hitherto been the high road to Heaven, was to fall broken to the ground. The Gods, in the midst of darkness and confusion, with all the heroes, were then to rush armed into the field. But it was only to en-

Described in
the Edda,

† Edda Mythol. xxx.

‡ Proruet solutus

In virorum catervam

Lupus ille Fenrin. Ecvindi Epicedium Ilaconis.

counter Misfortune; for Odin himself was to be devoured by FENRIN. Fire was to fall then on every quarter of the world; and all Nature was to be consumed *.

and Vo-
luspá.

Such are the romantic accounts of the dissolution of the universe in the Islandic Edda. They are not destitute of imagination, though absurd. In the prophecies distinguished by the name of Voluspá, the same romantic fable is poetically foretold. "The sun grows dark above; the earth sinks under the ocean. The bright stars are thrown headlong from Heaven. Fire rages through the ancient fabric of the world; and the flames ascending, touch the very skies †."

Renovation
of the world.

The silence and darkness which were to succeed the dissolution of the world, were not to be of long continuance. The old earth, reduced into ashes, had sunk under the ocean. A new earth, green, beautiful, and

* Vide passim Eddam Islandicam Mythol. xxx. et xlviii.

† Sol tekur fortna
Sýgur fold, mar
Huerfa aff himne
Heidar stíornur,
Geisar eime
Vid all durnara,
Leikur haar hite

* * *

Vid himen sialff ann. Voluspá, Stroph. xlix et lii.

pleasant,

pleasant, over all its regions, will afterwards rise gradually from the sea. The fields, without being sown with seed, will, of their own accord, produce every sort of grain. LEICHTHRASER and his wife LIF, having by some means or other escaped from the general calamity, will again people the earth with a new race of men. A new sun will rise over the world; the daughter* of the former sun, devoured by the wolf. This daughter will not be less splendid, less beautiful, or less lovely, than her parent; and she will follow the path of her mother through the sky †.

Some inferior intelligences, more fortunate than Odin, will escape the ruin which shall overwhelm the universe. They will convene in the plains of Ida; and their own reward waits also the souls of the blessed. The good, the brave, and the just, will be indulged with every happiness and joy in new mansions; described, with romantic enthusiasm, in the Voluspa ‡ and the Islandic

Seat of the
blessed after
the Twi-
light of the
Gods

* *Sunna*, the sun; is, in the Edda, in the feminine gender.

† Edda Mythol. xlix.

‡ Sal fier nun standa

* * *

Solu fegra
Gullethaktän.

* * *

A GIMLÉ

Islandic Edda*. “In the southern quarter of heaven stands a hall supreme in beauty. It is brighter than the sun; it is roofed with gold; the souls of the happy call it GIMLÉ. It stands after the destruction of heaven, after the ruin of the world. The good, the brave, the just, dwell in GIMLÉ through ages of joy. The dark-red flame which consumed the earth and the skies could not render dim the lustre of GIMLÉ.”

described:

The hall of GIMLÉ was divided into many mansions †. The word signifies the Heavens at Large; though it is sometimes confined to the upper region of the air.—The northern nations seem not to have been much prejudiced in favour of their native climate. The seats of the unhappy are placed under the pole, and open to its winds †; the habitations of the blessed are near the

Thar skulu dyggvar
Drotter biggia
Og um all durs daga
Yndes nista. Voluspá, lviii.

* A Sunnannuerdun Himens enda er fa salur er allra er fergurstur, og beartare enn. Solenn GIMLÉ heiter, han skal standa tha beade heffur fareft Himen og lord og biggia thann stad goder Menn og Riettlater um allder. Suo seiger in Wolu spaa, &c. Edda Mythol. xv.

† Id. xlviii.

† Sal weit eg standa
Solu fiaeerre

Nord ur horffa Dyr. Id. ibid.

sun.

fun. Cramped with the cold of the North, they looked for joy in the tepid regions of the South ; and the posterity of the Scandinavians shewed, by their successive migrations, that they wished to anticipate on earth the pleasing warmth of the climate of GIMLÉ.

The paradise of the Sarmatic Scandinavians differed, in many respects, from that of the Celtæ. The Val-
Sarmatic
and Celtic
mythologies
 halla, as well as GIMLÉ, were placed in the regions of the air : The Druids surrounded with tempest their fortunate island in the western ocean *. Among the Sarmatæ, only those who fell through violence were admitted into the presence of Odin ; such as died of disease or rage went to the bleak regions of Hela †. Men slain in battle were, among the Celtæ, intitled to a more elevated degree of happiness in their paradise ; but the peaceable and unwarlike had also a beautiful island of their own. Fighting, drinking, and the ministration of young virgins, comprehended all the joys of the Valhalla : The Celtic heroes wandered after a variety of rural pleasures over the face of a beautiful and extensive country. The warriors of Scandinavia remained in

* Celebratæ illæ beatorum insulæ in occidentali oceano. Eustath. in Dion. Perieg.

† Morbo ac senio confecti ad Helam detruduntur. Edda Mythol. xxviii.

the presence of Odin: The Druids, considering the Divinity as the pervading spirit which gave life and motion to the whole body of Nature, formed no idea of him as a personal existence. The Sarmatæ returned not again to earth: The souls of the departed, among the Celtæ, retaining a warm affection for their friends, were transiently seen in the hour of peril, and upon the near approach of death.

different
from one
another.

The religion of the Druids differed in many other circumstances from that of the Anglo-Saxons. The first admitted not a bad principle into their mythology: The latter had their hell as well as their heaven. The dissolution of the universe, which the Sarmatæ believed, was unknown to the Druids, who supposed that the material world was eternal*. The souls of the dead, among the northern nations, seem to have carried their bodies into the regions of bliss† as well as of misery: The departed, among the Celtæ, were unsubstantial forms‡. The women of Scandinavia were pre-

* Ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦς λεγουσι τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὸν κόσμον. Strabo, lib. iv.

† That er tidska at binda monnum helko sem menn Skulu a ganga til Valhallar. Vid. *Gisla Surssonar Sogu*.

‡ Voces audiunt sed Scaphæ hominibus penitus VACUÆ. Procop. Goth. lib. iv. de Animabus Celtarum. Idem perhibet de Magorum opinione. Plutarchus in libro de Ifide.

Ἀνθρώπους μήτε σκίαν ποιοῦντας.

ecipitated into the dominions of Hela, whilst female intelligences enjoyed the conversation of their husbands and lovers in the regions of bliss: The softer sex, among the Celtæ, passed with their friends to the fortunate isles. Their beauty increased with their change; and, to use the words of the bard, "They were ruddy lights in the island of joy *."

* Sequior sexus Valhalla excludebatur. Oloff Tryggwaz on Saga, cap. ii.

GOVERNMENT OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

Preliminary Observations.

Observations !

THE first rude stage of society, notwithstanding the researches of the speculative, is little known. Mankind have passed it before they are capable of viewing it with accuracy ; and, when they begin to look back, the object is lost in the distance of time. In a deficiency of facts, they have recourse to collateral examples ; and they describe their ancestors from the character of modern Barbarians. They find, in the savage of America, the counterpart of the old Scandinavian ; and the African, under the line, illustrates to them the manners of the Laplander of the polar regions. In an error incident to human weakness, they roam abroad for what they have in their hands at home ; neglecting the substance of the subject in idle declamation.

The

The direct line which leads back to the first principles ^{on the} of government among a people, passes through the source from which they derive their blood. Time may alter the character of a nation; civilization may wear off the rust of ancient barbarism; their language, their history, may, in a great measure, be lost in antiquity; but their first regulations remain entire in the midst of their improvements. Government may be said to be the very essence of the original and inherent manners of a people. Like the productions of the soil, it depends upon the nature of the climate. In the tepid regions of Asia, where indolence is happiness, men are averse to the trouble of governing themselves. They resign to others the rights of human nature, as incumbrances; and throw the drudgery of tyranny upon the Despot, as a thing unworthy of their care. In the regions of the North, man partakes of the nature of the tempest which rushes across his country. His nerves, braced by the coldness of his climate, are not susceptible of those delicate feelings which place felicity in ease. Conscious of his own vigour, he disdains to own the assumed superiority of another: and, often, self-conceit becomes, in some measure, the source of independence and freedom.

The love of the conveniencies of life is, however, ^{origin of go-}
 implanted in human nature. The haughty and impe- ^{vernment}

C c c

rious

rious Barbarian, notwithstanding the affected hardness of his constitution, looks with avidity on things which administer to pleasure. The ingenuity of his neighbour becomes a crime, and an object of injustice. Averse to trouble, he avails himself of the labour of others; and he seizes by force what they had obtained by toil. A combination is made against the robber; government gradually rises to obviate injustice in all its forms, and the defence of property is devolved, from the hands of the possessor, upon the public faith. But the society formed to prevent injustice becomes itself, at length, unjust. It assumes the character of the freebooter, whose depredations it was created to oppose: It invades its neighbours, and dignifies robbery with the name of War.

among

A people, by these means, become, in some measure, subject to two modes of government. They have foreign as well as domestic affairs. The relation which exists between individuals at home has, on a higher scale, its counterpart between nations abroad. The popular form of government provides against private injustice; but the subordination necessary to concentrate the whole force of the state against an enemy, throws naturally the authority of the people into the hands of a prince, in expedition and war. The influence gained by

by success enables the leader of the army abroad to extend, upon his return, some part of his power to domestic affairs. The jealousy of the people is softened by his renown; and they consent to bestow a part of their authority upon a man whose services have a claim on their gratitude. The mixed government, which the northern nations carried into their conquests, derives its origin from this source.

The want of information, which induced the writers of Rome to remove the northern limits of ancient Germany to the pole, was a cause of error to the learned of modern times. The latter have extended the general character of the Celtic nations, between the Rhine and the Elb, to the inhabitants of Scandinavia and the shores of the Baltic. In vain have the wild nations of the North advanced into the southern Europe with positive proofs of their own Sarmatic origin; men of letters have chosen to make them Celtæ; and Celtæ, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, they must remain. To differ from the learned in this point, is neither precipitate nor presumptuous. The ancients give no countenance to their opinion, and the unmixed posterity of those nations, who overwhelmed the empire of the West, argue against them with all the force of language, manners, and government.

*Their Kings.*Cause of
despotism

The fierce nations between the Rhine and the Elb, being confined to their native country by the policy and discipline of the Romans, became, during the first century of our æra, a strong barrier against the migrations of the Sarmatic Scandinavians beyond the Baltic. Excluded from foreign expedition, they turned their thoughts to domestic improvement. The prince, who had extended his influence to civil affairs, found a prospect of permanency to his own power, in the wealth which the absence of war had raised among the people; and he was enabled to transmit to his posterity the authority which either chance or merit had on himself bestowed. Time ripened into a veneration, for the person of the prince, that submission to his decisions which was, at first, the effect of their strict justice; and he gradually began to arrogate to himself, as a matter of private right, that power which his ancestor had derived from the partial affection of the people.

among the
Scandina-
vians.

It was thus that, in the days of Tacitus, the Scandinavians were subject to absolute monarchy. They were a commercial people*; established property had

* Suionum hinc civitates, in ipso oceano, classibus valent. Tacit. Germ. xliv.

attached them to fixed abodes. Wealth was honoured among them, and they acquiesced under the unlimited despotism of one †. Secured by their situation from foreign enemies, their domestic spirit declined ‡. They suffered themselves to be disarmed by their princes; and thus the tyranny of Asia, in the absence of its luxury, prevailed under the pole. The Sitones of Norway were even more abject than their brethren to the East of the mountains of Sevo. They not only degenerated from liberty, but even from slavery itself: they submitted to the government of women, and added disgrace to servitude *. This attachment to hereditary succession continued among the colonies which Scandinavia established to the South of the Baltic. The Rugii, the Lemovii §, all the Vandals from the Isle of Rugen to the German Ocean, as well as their brethren the Sarmatic Gothones on the Vistula, were distinguished by their obedience to kings ||.

† Est apud illos et opibus honos; eoque unus imperitat, nullis exceptionibus, non precario jure parendi. Tacit. Germ. xlv.

‡ Subitos hostium incurfus prohibet Oceanus. Id. ibid.

* Fœmina dominatur: non modo à libertate sed etiam à servitute degenerant. Id. lxv.

§ Rugii et Lemovii; omniumque harum gentium insigne erga reges obsequium. Id. xlvii.

|| Gothones regnantur, paulo jam adductius quam ceteræ gentes. Id. xliii.

Power of
monarchs
very limited

The monarchs of the Scandinavian Sarmatæ lost their influence in the progressive migrations of their subjects toward the South. The Goths and Vandals, the undoubted ancestors of the modern English, were remarkable for their attachment to civil liberty. Though the crown was hereditary in certain families *, though their princes vaunted their descent from Odin the first of the Gods, their power †, and even the possession of their dignity, depended upon the general assembly of the people, whose resolutions they were always obliged to carry into execution ‡. In expedition and war the king was respected §; but, destitute of the power of inflicting any punishment upon the disobedient, his authority was nugatory ||.

among their
posterity,

With war the reverence for his person was at an end. Indignity was added to his want of consequence and power; the meanest of his subjects sat with him at table, joined in his conversation, used him with con-

* Reges habent ex genere antiquos. Adam. Brem.

† Nondum tamen supra libertatem. Tacit. Germ. xliii.—Rex apud eos modicæ æstimationis est. Helmold. de Rugiis, lib. ii.

‡ Quod in commune laudaverint omnes illum confirmare oportet. Adam. Brem. ubi supra.

§ In prælium euntes omnem præbent obedientiam regi. Adam. Brem.

|| Neque animadvertere, neque vincere, neque verberare permissum. Tacit. Germ. vii.

tempt,

tempt, and disgraced him with scurrility *. The kings of the Goths, a nation descended from the same stock with the Saxons, enjoyed no honour, and met with no respect †. The rabble being, by the strength of established custom, admitted to the entertainments of the prince, the unhappy man, instead of being treated with the reverence due to his rank, was often obliged to purchase with presents a decency of behaviour from his barbarous guests ‡.

This species of rude liberty degenerated sometimes into licence in the extreme. Barbarians who used such freedoms with their prince, must naturally have a contempt for his character and authority. They sometimes persecuted him to death itself, for no other cause but that they were determined to submit to the commands of none §. He was expelled from his throne upon every frivolous and unjust pretence.—Should they happen to be

who frequently de-throned and punished with death their kings.

* Πρότερον ὄνομα μὲν παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Βασιλεὺς εἶχεν· ἰδιώτῃ δὲ ὅτις ἐδέν τι σχεδὸν ὀφερέτο πλέον· ἀλλὰ καὶ ξυγκαθεῖσθαι αὐτῷ ἅπαντες, καὶ ζύσσιτοι εἶναι ἤξιον, καὶ ἀνέδην, ὅσις βέλοιτο, εἰδ' αὐτὸν ὕβριζεν. Procop. Rer. Gothic. lib. i.

† Ne honore quidem ac reverentiâ inter eos rex potiebatur. Theod.

‡ Ἀλλὰ ὁμοτραπέζας εἶχε καὶ ὁμοσκήνας, καὶ πολὺ τὸ φιλόδωρον ἐς αὐτῶν ἦν. Procop. Rer. Goth. lib. ii.

§ Regem aliquando interfecerunt, nullam ob aliam causam nisi quod sub nullius imperio esse vellent. Vide Procop. in eod. libro.

unsuccessful

unsuccessful in war, should the fruits of the earth, through the inclemency of the season, fail *, the unhappy monarch was degraded from his dignity, and became the victim of disappointment and injustice. He was answerable for the fate of battles in which he was not obeyed ; and, though destitute of authority among men, he was punished for not having the power of a God over the weather.

Cause of

When the ferocity of the northern Barbarians began to subside, after their settlement in the warmer regions of the South, the prince recovered some part of the consequence in the state, which his ancestors had possessed in Scandinavia. The honour and security of his situation were not, however, equal to its anxiety and toil. He was not permitted to flumber at the head of the community ; or to convert, to his own pleasure, the time which ought to be devoted to the service of the public. Some power, superior to his authority, was understood to rest in the state. He was neither independent of public animadversion ; nor secure against private injury. The murder of a sovereign was no trea-

* Apud hos, ritu veteri, potestati depositâ removetur, si sub eo fortuna titubaverit belli, vel segetum copiam negaverit terra at sacerdos est perpetuus, obnoxius discriminibus nullis, ut reges. Amm. Marcell. lib. xxviii.

son; to insult him no crime; to degrade him from his dignity no infringement on private right. The science of government was not well understood; men knew not how to repress tyranny without ruining monarchy.

The people's jealousy of the prince proceeded not ^{their want} more from a love of liberty, than from the haughty ferocity of their manners. In each of his nobles, he had a rival rather than a subject; and the inferior sort were divided in their attachment between their sovereign and their more immediate leader in war. Without resources, destitute of a revenue, he possessed no influence but what he derived from his merit; and, in the absence of that pomp and magnificence which strikes the imagination, the veneration for his person declined. He was rather the most respectable subject of the state than its sovereign: he could promulgate no regulation to bind the rest of mankind; and even his own conduct was to be regulated by their established opinions.

The Saxon chiefs, who led their countrymen to conquest into Britain, derived their authority more from election than from birth. Having quitted their original seats, those ties which bind mankind to the observance of established laws were dissolved. Every soldier conquered

D d d

for

for himself, and not for the state; and, without acknowledging any superior title in another, derived his right to the lands of the vanquished from his sword. When he submitted to a regulation, it was from an idea of its utility to himself more than from a reverence for those by whom it was made. He felt, in the ferocious vigour of his own mind, an inherent title to every thing which his arm could defend. His respect for the associates of his victory extended not farther than his fears of their injustice; and his regard for the prince terminated at the limits which he had, in his own mind, prescribed to his merit and valour.

power.

Among the ancient Saxons, the power of the prince was inconsiderable, even before the feudal barons arose on its ruins. Barbarism is as much an enemy to despotism as the philosophy of an enlightened age. The people must be soothed rather than commanded into obedience; and, when mankind have nothing which they are afraid to lose, their liberties may be trusted to the natural independence of their own minds. Hereditary succession placed a kind of awe round the person of the prince; who added the renown of his ancestors to his own. But this halo of importance, though it magnified the object, was not sufficient to establish arbitrary power. The means of governing by influence were wanting to the monarch. He could bestow no favours,
and

and anciently no honours. Self-interest or vanity are the great motives to obedience in all ages; and, without the prospect of gratifying either of these, few would be induced, for the good of the state, to pay a proper submission to its chief magistrate.

The prince acquired importance from a custom which shewed the extensive privileges of the people. The public assemblies, which were convened on the continent for the purpose of carrying the ravages of the nation into the territories of their neighbours, were, in Britain, applied to the formation of laws and regulations to protect their own. When the conquerors became the regular possessors of the land, civil affairs succeeded to war. The spirit, which induced them to attack others, was productive of partial invasions of the rights of individuals among themselves. Injustice is the parent of regulation. The prince had no inherent authority in himself to punish crimes. The nation, in their general assembly, devolved their power upon him; and it seemed reasonable, that he should assent to laws which he was to execute. He was formerly a member of the great council, now he was a part of the legislative body; and, though he might think it prudent to agree to whatever had received the sanction of the assembly, to ask his consent was to admit his power to refuse.

They regain some importance.

Their general Assemblies.

Origin

The decline of the Roman power presenting a favourable field for depredation, incursion and war became the business of the fierce Barbarians beyond the Rhine. The total migrations which afterwards took place were at first unknown; and the invaders of the South were rather an association of enterprizing robbers than national armies. Issuing from their own country under no subordination to individuals, excepting what proceeded from the obvious utility of a leader, a perfect equality subsisted among them. The hope of advantage was the motive of each for undertaking the expedition; and he retained, through the course of it, that independence with which it had been begun. On the eve of measures which concerned the whole, the whole met together for deliberation; and the leader gave his opinion, but did not presume to command.

of

When they had opened, by their arms, a passage into better countries than their own, they resolved at last to settle where they had plundered before. Dividing the lands of the conquered among themselves, they carried their martial independence into their civil establishments. They met to consult together about the affairs

of peace ; as they had been accustomed to do concerning the measures of war. They still retained, in their new settlements, that spirit of equality which they had brought from their ancient seats. Each permitted himself to be convinced by argument, or subdued by reason ; but he disdained to give his voice either from motives of interest or fear. Neither of the latter could, in these times, have existed : The wants of mankind were few ; and political terror is the growth of cultivated times.

The origin of the general assemblies of the Anglo-^{the greater} Saxons must, however, be placed beyond the æra of migration into foreign countries. The Germans beyond the Elb, who succeeded the Celtæ, between that river and the Rhine, had two assemblies for the management of their foreign and domestic affairs. The greater assembly consisting of the body of the people for matters of state * : the lesser composed of the prince and his assessors for the administration of justice. Every man of perfect age †, and without any distinction of de-

* *Coeunt certis diebus. Ut turbæ placuit* confidunt armati. Mox rex, vel princeps, prout ætas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia, audiuntur. Si displicuit sententia, fremitu aspernantur, sin placuit frameas concutiunt. Tacit. Germ. xi.

† Omnes puberes armati convenire cogebantur. Cæsar, lib. v.

gree, had a voice at this general convention. The multitude came completely armed *, and all had a right to deliver their sentiments with the utmost freedom. Alliances were made, wars resolved upon, treaties of peace concluded, in the great assembly †; whose power extended also to capital punishments for offences against the state ‡.

The lesser.

The general assembly of the people elected annually one hundred out of their own number to attend the person of the prince, and to serve as his assessors when he sat in judgment §. These gave weight to his decisions, and enforced his decrees. They sat at his table, accompanied him in his progress, they were his guard in peace, his protection in war ||. To support the expence of entertaining these constant attendants of his presence, he received from the people a voluntary and

* *Armatum multitudinis concilium.* Cæsar, lib. v.

† *De majoribus omnes.* Tacit. Germ. xi.

‡ *Licet apud concilium accusare quoque, et discrimen capitis intendere.* Id. xii.

§ *Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis centeni singulis (regibus) ex plebe comites consilium simul et auctoritas.* Id. ibid.

|| *In pace decus, in bello præsidium.* Id. xiii.

free gift of cattle and corn *, and he also derived a kind of revenue from the fines imposed upon petty offenders †. The prince and his assessors formed the lesser assembly; and differences between individuals were heard and determined before them.

Traitors against the state, and deserters to an enemy, were tried among the old Germans before the general assembly of the people, and, upon conviction, hanged ‡. Cowards and men of infamous lives were drowned under hurdles in stagnant and muddy pools §. The laws of the ancient Saxons on the continent were particularly severe against incontinence and adultery. Should a virgin in her father's house, or a married woman in that of her husband, be guilty of incontinence, she was either strangled by her relations in private, and her body burnt, or she was delivered over to a species of public punishment the most ignominious and cruel. Cut short of her clothing by the waist, she was whipped from village

Their legal
punish-
ments.

* Mos est civitatibus ultro ac viritim conferre principibus, vel armentorum, vel frugum aliquid; quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatibus subvenit. Tacit. Germ. xv.

† Pars mulctæ regi exsolvitur. Id. xii.

‡ Proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt. Id. ibid.

§ Ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames, cœno et palude, injecta insuper crate, mergunt. Id. ibid.

to village by ancient matrons, who, at the same time, pricked her body with knives till she expired under their hands*. Virtue, in this case, degenerated into unpardonable barbarity.—They animadverted upon petty offenders with flighter punishments. A fine in cattle, proportioned to the degree of the offence, was levied by the authority of the king and his assessors upon the delinquent; even homicide itself was expiated by a certain mulct payable to the prince and the relations of the person slain†.

Original

The ferocious bravery of the Anglo-Saxons, when it procured to them dominions, deprived them of subjects. Their cruelty, co-operating with the obstinacy of their unfortunate enemies, left their blood and manners unmixed in their conquests. Their love of freedom, their government in all its forms, they imported with them into Britain; and they transmitted both to

* In antiqua Saxonia, si virgo in paternâ domo, vel maritata sub conjugē sit adulterata; manu propriâ strangulatam cremant; aut cingulo tenus vestibus abscissis, flagellant eam castæ matronæ, et de villa in villam missæ occurrunt novæ flagellantes, et cultellis pungunt, donec interimant. Bonifacius Episcopus, in epistolâ ad Ethelbaldum, Anglorum regem.

† Luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum et pecorum numero, recepitque satisfactionem universa domus. Tacit. Germ. xii.

posterity,

posterity, with all the improvements which it could receive in its progress down through time. Consisting of various tribes on the continent, they retained their distinctions after their arrival in this island. They were separated into seven provinces; but the mode of government in all was so similar, that when time and accident joined them into one kingdom, it was not changing but enlarging the scale of the constitution.

In expedition and war, every man capable of bearing arms was, on the continent, admitted into deliberations, ^{of parliament.} which he was in part to execute. When the Anglo-Saxons obtained the peaceable possession of the southern Britain, they subdivided the conquests of each tribe into various small districts. An undetermined number of these small districts, which some writers distinguish by the name of Tithings, formed what we call Shires or Counties; and several counties joined under one great magistrate, obtained the name of a Kingdom. Even the seven principalities, which we distinguish by the general appellation of the Heptarchy, formed, with regard to foreign nations, but one state. One prince was chosen their leader in war; and a great council was established to advise him in all matters which concerned the united communities. Each principality was, in the mean time, an independent kingdom with regard to

E e e

internal

internal regulation; each shire was the counterpart of the kingdom, and each district, of a shire.

among the

In the lesser districts all the heads of families convened, upon certain occasions, and established regulations for the whole, by a plurality of voices. They chose annually, from among themselves, judges to execute the laws which they had made. But as the jurisdiction of these judges was necessarily confined to their own districts, a council was formed of the principal officers of every tithing to establish regulations for the whole shire. This council elected, out of their own number, the great officers of the shire, whose jurisdiction, in matters of general law, extended to all the tithings. The chief officer, though chosen by the people, was the representative of the king in his shire, and possessed an ample jurisdiction. He was vested with the executive power in civil affairs; he commanded the county in war.

Anglo-Saxons

In uniting the shires together in a kingdom, the same mode was observed as in the union of the tithings into shires. The immediate deputies of the people, who were the chief officers of the lesser districts, chose one of their number from each tithing, who was vested with power to speak and determine for his division in the
general

general assembly of the kingdom. The difficulty and even impossibility that the people, in a collective body, could attend to the public business, even in the smaller districts, suggested the propriety of delegating their authority to deputies; and the same cause induced the deputies to trust the general affairs of the nation to the wisdom and prudence of representatives. Such is the general line of that assembly which we now distinguish by the name of Parliament, under the government of the Anglo-Saxons. They brought the idea from the continent, but they improved it in the tranquillity which they secured by their arms in their conquests.

Origin of Juries.

Observations.

When the Anglo-Saxons had settled themselves in their conquests, they derived from toil and industry the subsistence which they formerly drew from depredation and war. An idea of property arose among them; and it was succeeded by a fear of public invasion and of private injustice. They found a bulwark against the first, in their valour: they obviated the inconveniencies of the second, by civil regulations. Their mode of domestic policy was, at the beginning, as simple as their method of carrying on war. They owed their safety at home to their general ideas of natural justice; and their renown abroad more to valour than to their address in the field.

Courts of justice prior to legislation.

Courts of justice were prior in their institution to legislative assemblies. Nature has implanted the principles of equity in the human mind; and laws are rather the declarations of the community against injustice, than definitions, which constitute, by explaining the nature of crimes. Though the Anglo-Saxons, in their progress toward the South, lost the reverence of their ancestors for kings, they retained their principles of internal police and government. Each tribe, as soon as it obtained settlements, divided its territories into small districts,

districts, for the convenience of civil justice, as well as for the sudden demands of war, the people, finding it inconvenient, upon every trivial occasion, to convene in a body for determining upon controversies by the plurality of voices, devolved their authority upon a judge chosen annually by themselves*.

This officer, being in his own district the representative of the king, who possessed the executive power of the state, was confirmed in his place by the royal approbation. The mode of election, which prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons beyond the reach of records, was probably the same with that which obtained in Scandinavia in less distant times. When a vacancy happened, the people of the district were convened by the priest. The vulgar met with the better sort in this convention; and every one present had a right to vote. They chose twelve out of the number present; six landed proprietors, and six of the inferior peasants. These fixed on three whom they thought equal to the office; and the election being announced to the king, he se-

Mode of
the election
of judges.

* *Judicis, ut et magistratus omnis, olim penes populum electio erat, confirmatio penes regem. Stiernhöök de Jure Sueonum et Gothorum vetusto. Lib. i.*

Eliguntur in conciliis et principes, qui jura per pagos vicosque reddunt. Tacit. Germ. xii.

lected

lected one of the three for discharging the duties of a judge †.

Origin,

When the matter in dispute was clear and obvious, the judge decided without hesitation; and his decision was enforced. When the case seemed dubious, he demanded aid from the wisdom of others *; and the litigating parties ‡ chose six persons, on either side, to be his assistants. These were appointed to enquire into the fact, and having determined upon it, by the majority of voices, they delivered it over to the judge, who was obliged, without delay, to pass sentence upon the fact so delivered, according to the usages of the district, and the established laws of the state. The different departments and powers of the jury and judge were ascer-

† Electio autem restricta, certo modo et conditione, peracta. Quoties enim vacabat locus, populus convocatus per sacerdotem, ex seipso duodecim electores eligebat, ex equestri ordine sex et totidem ex plebe, qui tres alios vicissim eligebant quas pares muneri existimabant, ex quibus unum rex confirmabat. Stiernhöök, lib. i.

* Ubi res aut confessione, aut testibus, aut aliis documentis non satis est manifesta in subsidium (Judicis) NEMBDA, a majoribus constituta fuit; quæ REM VEL FACTUM quoquo modo exploratum judici tradere teneretur, ut sine mora sententiam super ea re EX JURE CONCESTAM ferret. Id. ibid.

‡ Nembdam partes litigantes eligebant, pari numero utrinque. Id. ibid.

tained

tained with precision and defined with accuracy. The jury took cognizance of the fact, the judge declared the law: the first explained the state of the case; the latter decided the state of the controversy*.

The apparent equity of trials by jury recommended nature, the practice so strongly to the people that their interposition became necessary in all legal determinations. The jurors gradually became members of the court; and though their decisions were grateful to their fellow-citizens, their office became troublesome to themselves. When the parties retained the right of chusing them, a new jury appeared on every new cause†. All the members of the community were alternately harassed by attendance; some refused to come, and others delayed to come in time. The practice was too good in itself to be dropt: and the magistrate found himself obliged to interfere. The judge, or the king's lieutenant in the district, summoned therefore a stated jury, from the division of the kingdom, over which he pre-

* Circa alia officium judicis, circa alia Nembdæ. Nembda DE FACTO cognoscebat, judex DE JURE. ILLA statum causæ, HIC statum controversiæ decidebat. Stiernhök, lib. i.

† Nembda vero ab initio, stata et ordinaria non fuit; sed alia atque alia, non modo in quolibet judicio sed et quâlibet in causa. Id. ibid.

fided;

fided; and the parties, instead of chusing twelve, were only permitted to object to a certain number ‡.

and power

The original office of juries, which the northern nations distinguished by the name of *Nembda*, and other appellations expressive of their nature *, was only to inquire into the fact, and, having explained it with great attention, to deliver it over CERTAIN to the judge †. They were considered as the competent judges of the true state of the fact, but they were not supposed to be versed in the provisions which the ancient usages and the laws of the state had made for the relief of the injured, and the punishment of the guilty. Their jurisdiction, however, encreased in the northern Europe

‡ Successu autem temporis, cum ejus officium necessarium esset, conquisitio vero pro singulis in singulis causis gravis videretur, de certis et ordinariis cogitari coeptum est, ne eorum penuria aut defectu causæ pro laterentur. Itaque judex ipse vel præfectus provinciæ regius, utrinque enim de jure extat, *Nembdam* constituebat, viros honestos, domicilii certos. *Stiernhöök*, lib. i.

* Quod deputati *Nembdeman*, quod duodecim *Twelfman*, quod integræ vitæ *Ganneman*, quod senes *Oldungar* nominat fuerunt. Id. *ibid.*

† Facti tantum cognitio, nulla juris dictio *Nembdæ*. Id. *ibid.*

Officium autem *Nembdæ* non fuit quod hodie cum judice judicare et per suffragia sententiam dicere, sed, quod modo dictum, factum tantum examinare, explicare judici certum tradere. Id. *ibid.*

in the course of time. They became the judges of law as well as of fact: from giving only their opinion to the judge, they rose to be his assessors; and his power degenerated to such a low degree, that he became, at last, the mouth through which they communicated their decisions to the public*.

The mode of proceeding before juries which was of juries. practised in Scandinavia differed from that which has obtained in England. The majority of voices determined on the continent, the guilt or innocence of the culprit. In England all the members of a jury must agree in the decision; and either completely absolve or thoroughly condemn. The juries of the North delivered their judgment upon the whole of the case: in this country, they found their verdict, as the word imports, only upon the fact†. In Scandinavia the suffrage of the majority, as has been already observed, acquits or condemns: the suffrage of seven, out of

* Videntur pro suo arbitratu statuissē, et tam de jure, quam de facto. Stiernhöök, lib. i.

De consuetudine vero hodie Nembda ex officio judicis participat, confusis enim officiis simul de facto et jure cognoscunt et adjudicant tanquam assessores, judice tantum præsidente. Id. ibid.

† Facti tantum cognitio. Id. ibid.

twelve, determines the fate of the defendant:—But when the voices are equal, the law inclines to mercy, and the culprit is absolved †. It appears clear, upon the whole, that the original power of juries did not extend so far as to judge with the judge *; but only to examine and explain the FACT ONLY, and to deliver it over, in its true and certain state, to the judge, for his decision according to ancient usage and the established laws of the land ‡.

Observations.

The subordination, without which no government can subsist, was regulated with precision and wisdom, by the free nations of the North. It however obtained less between persons than things. In peace a kind of equality prevailed among all; though merit and even necessity gave birth to gradations of authority in war. It was an established maxim, that the few should yield to the many; that the courts of the lesser districts should

† In eo tamen abit jus Anglicum a nostro, quod omnes et singuli simul vel absolvere debeant vel condemnare, non præcise quem omnes sed quem major pars Nembdæ absolverit vel condemnarit; itaque septem suffragiis reus vincit vel vincitur. Si autem paria utrinque fuerint, in meliorem partem inclinatur jus nostrum, et absolvi eum quam condemnari humanius existimavit. Stiernhöök, lib. i.

* Non cum judice judicare. Id. ibid.

‡ Denique in factum Angli condemnant vel absolvunt. Id.

possess

possess no power of decision which could not be reversed by those of the greater. A general chain of appeal was established from the court of the tithing to the council of state; where the king presided in person, being acknowledged, in the lowest ebb of his personal power, the fountain from which all authority flowed.—But men of abilities have already occupied this province of our ancient constitution.

The Author of the Introduction sat down with a design of tracing, with accuracy and precision, the government of the Anglo-Saxons through all its departments. But the subject swelled on his hands, and he dropt it from its magnitude. The darkness which involved our ancestors on the continent, was not dispelled from their history till long after their settlement in Britain; and when the prospect opens to the view, it is placed too far down in time for the subject allotted for this work. The province which the Author has chosen, is barren; but he cannot, with propriety, enrich it with the spoils of a period which he has reserved for another occasion.—We see little of the private life and character of the Anglo-Saxons by the transient and interrupted glimpses of their history, which breaks through the obscurity in which their progress toward the South was

Concluding
reflection.

involved. Their chief virtues were bravery and an inherent love of freedom; their sole occupations, depredation and war. They performed great actions, but they themselves being unacquainted with the means of transmitting them to posterity, their fame fell into the hands of enemies, and came down mutilated through time.



I N D E X.

A

ADRIAN's Wall, 150.
Adultery, its punishment, 391.
Æstiones spoke the same language with the ancient British Nations, 301.
Æthiopians, southern, paid no veneration to God, 335.
Agravarii, 160.
Agricola, Julius, crosses the Clyde, 145.
Aise, 226. The same with Ales of Scandinavia, 227.
Albion, Etymon of, 72.
Alfheimur, or the world of spirits, 360.
Ammianus Marcellinus, finds, for the first time, the Scots in Britain, 162.
Amusements of the ancient British Nations, 249. Feasts, 250. Singing, 252. Dancing, 253. Duelling, 254. Games of chance, *ibid.*
Angilæ, placed no divinity in heaven, 336. Worship infernal spirits, 337.
Angli, their origin, 330. A tribe of the Vandals, 331. First mentioned by Tacitus, 332. Their original seats on the Baltic, 333. Worship Hertha, 343.
Anglo-Saxons, 315. Their origin, 329. Their religion, 334. Their government, 376. Put to death their kings, 383. Dethrone them for bad crops, 384. Their ferocity, *ibid.* Import freedom from the continent, 391. Consist of various tribes, 392. Divided into seven provinces, *ibid.*
Antiquity, reflections on, 1.
Antoninus Pius's Wall, 150. Extends the freedom of Rome to the provinces, 319.
Appeals, 403.

Aquitani, 302.
Aremanius, of the Magi, 349.
Aristæus, 24.
Arminius, 158.
Ase, 360.
Assemblies, 388. Their origin among the Anglo-Saxons, 389.
Attacoti, 205.
Avari the same with Slavi, 40.

B

Bad principle, 361.
Barbarians, their idea of God simple and just, 336.
Barbarism an enemy to despotism, 384.
Bards highly honoured among the ancient British Nations, 256. Subject of their songs, 357. Form the moral character of the ancient Britons, 258. The respect paid to their order, 259. Divided into three classes, *ibid.* Recommended valour and virtue, *ibid.* The favourite instructors of the ancient Britons, 260.
Bastarnæ, 301.
Battle, the pastime of the blessed, 357.
Bede, the first writer who affirms the Irish extract of the Scots, 156. Examined and confuted, 179, 180, &c.
Beer, the common beverage of the Celtæ, 265.
Belgæ, 64. The third colony which transmigrated into Britain, *ibid.*
Beltein, superstitious ceremony of, 221.
Bethlusnion, 115.
Bifrösta, or the bridge of the Gods, 360. Destroyed, 369.
Biscayan Language, totally different from the Celtic, 135, 136.

Bolandus,

I N D E X.

Bolandus, 113.
Braccæ described, 274.
Brabmins, their idea of the human soul, 350.
Breiddablic, what, 360.
Brigantes, etymon of their name, 71.
 A tribe in Ireland, 142.
Britain, first peopled, 24. Possessed by three nations, *ibid.* Etymon of its name, 38. Its navigation, 224. And commerce, 226.
British Nations ancient, 46. Their origin, 49. Divided into three nations, 50. Their character, 244. Passionate, warlike, impetuous, plain, good-hearted, and upright, *ibid.* Fickle, precipitate, curious, 246. Hospitable, 247. Proud and haughty, 248. Their amusements, 249. Their feasts, *ibid.* Their enormous size, 261. Their women, 263. Their clothing, 272. Their household furniture, 271. Their navigation, 224. Their houses, 278. Their shipping, 281. Their manufactures, and commodities, 283. Their commerce, 284. Their land carriage, *ibid.* Use chariots in journies as well as in war, 285. Their government, 289. Fond of political freedom, 290. Their kings, 291. Their general assemblies, 292. Their justice, 293. Their cruelty in war, 295. Faithful in foreign service, 296.
Bulgarians, a branch of the Slavi, 39.

C

Cadmus, 19.
Cairbre-Riada, 180.
Calaici, acknowledged no God, 335.
Caledonia, its etymon, 85. Its internal state unknown, 86. Its boundaries, 87. Its history, 150, &c.
Caledonians, the most ancient inhabitants of Britain, 74. Ancestors of the Scots, 205. And of the Irish, 206.
Cantabri, 133.
Cantabric war, 134.
Cantæ, 86.

Carini, *ibid.*
Catti, the same with the Suevi, 36.
Cauci, 132.
Celtæ, 18. Their dominions, 20. First mentioned in history, 23. Their origin, 22. Etymon of their name, 25. The German *Celtæ*, 30. Their first expedition to the South, *ibid.* Dissipated in the Roman dominions, 42. Their idea of God, 210. Their great size, 261. Ruddy in complexion, with yellow hair and blue eyes, 265. Neat in their dress, 276. Cleanly in their persons, 277. Their character, 325.
Chariots, used in journies by the ancient Britons, 285.
Christian clergy imitate the Druids, 9.
Chance, games of, 254.
Character of the ancient British Nations, 187. Of the Sarmatæ, 268. Of the *Celtæ*, 269.
Cimbri, their origin, 26. Penetrate to the Ionian sea, 30. Extend their conquest to Britain and Spain, *ibid.* Ancestors of the Welsh, 62.
Claudian, his authority examined, 163.
Claudius Civilis crosses the Rhine, 135.
Clothing of the ancient British Nations, 272. Of the men 273. Of the women, 274.
Columba, the apostle of the Picts, 195.
Concani, 139.
Constantine, by removing the seat of government, 321. Gives a mortal blow to the empire, 322.
Constantius Chlorus, 163.
Crimes, the parents of civil regulations, 293.
Crimothan, a fictitious monarch of Ireland, 154.
Critical Learning, revival of, 11.
Cruelty of the *Celtæ* in war, 296.
Curraghs, a kind of miserable skiffs, 163.

D

Dalmatia, 40.
Dalrietta, or the Route, 180.
Dalreudini, 176.

Damnii,

I N D E X.

Damnii, 86.
Dancing, one of the amusements of the Celtic nations, 253.
Datby, a fictitious Irish prince, 160.
Death, its nature, 351.
Delegation, its origin, 395.
Deucaliones, 211.
Dioclesian obtains signal victories over the Sarmatæ, 328.
Diodorus Siculus, his character of the Irish, 110.
Divinations, 224.
Divinity, his universality, 290.
Dobuni, etymon of their name, 36.
Donald O'Neil, a petty king of Ulster, 135.
Druids, their sacred character, 232. They extend their inquiries to the Being and Attributes of God, 233. Believe in the immortality of the soul, 234. Inculcate morality, 255. Contend for dignities with the sword, 297. Affixed no personal ideas to God, 337.
Drusus depopulates Germany, 129.
Duelling, 253.

E

Earth, a new one, 370.
Easga, 217.
Eblis, of the Arabs, 349.
Edda, Islandic, 240.
Egyptians, their opinion of a future state, 352.
Epidii, 86.
Erin, ancient name of Ireland, its etymon, 104.
Europe, origin of its present inhabitants, 43.

F

Fallen Angels, 346.
Father of the slain, 340.
Feasts of the ancient British Nations, 249.
Fenni, 327.
Fenrin devours Odin, 370.
Ferdán, 257.
Ferloy, *ibid.*

Feudal establishments introduce historical inquiry, and favourable to national spirit, 10.
Fileas, Irish, 100.
Flatb-Innis, 237.
Florus, his account of the Cantabric war, 133.
Fowl, tame, not eaten by the ancient Britons, 250.
Frea, the wife of Odin, 345. The same with Hertha, *ibid.* Her placid character, 346. Worshipped by the Angli, 347. Her mansions of happiness, 359.

G

Gaël, etymon of, 25. Origin of, 50. The first colony which transmigrated into Britain, 51. Forced northward by the Cimbri, 84. Ancestors of the Irish, *ibid.*
Gadeni, 87.
Galgacus, 132.
Gallæci, 129.
Gallicia, 135.
Gaul, its boundaries, 18.
Gellach, 214.
Germanicus massacres the Marfi, 120.
Germans, 28.
Gildas examined and confuted, 173.
Gimle described, 372.
Glidner, what, 360.
Globe, changes in, 3.
God, original opinions concerning him, the most simple, noble, and just, 210. The Celtæ looked upon him as the Soul of the world, 274. No personal existence, 337.
Godheim, what, 360.
Gods, had no business with the affairs of life, 338. Of the Anglo-Saxons, 340.
Gotbini, 302.
Gotbones, 381.
Goths, 37. Their origin, 329. Their attachment to liberty, 382.
Government, reflections on the origin of, 386. The popular form more ancient than

I N D E X.

than monarchy, 287. Its nature, 289. Government of the ancient British Nations, *ibid.* Observations on that of the Anglo-Saxons, 376, 377, 378, 379.
Grannius, its etymon, 217.
Greeks threw the first light on the northern nations, 19.

H

Hall of Odin, 355.
Heidrun, a goat, 356.
Hela, 349. Her regions, 361. Doubtful when opened, 362. The receptacle of cowards, of the aged and diseased, *ibid.* Her person described, 364. Her dominions described, 365.
Hell unknown to the Celtæ, 235.
Hellepont, one of the boundaries of the Celtæ, 24.
Heptarchy, 393.
Heremon, an ideal monarch of Ireland, 130.
Hermundur, 36.
Hertba worshipped by the Angli, 344.
Hesus, its etymon, 212.
Hibernia, its etymon, 105.
Historians, Scottish, reprehended, 77.
Homicide, punished by fine, 347.
Horse, admitted into the Valhalla, 357.
Hospitality in the extreme, 251.
Houries of Mahommed, 352.
Household furniture of the ancient Britons, 271.
Houses of the ancient Britons described, 278. Stone and brick buildings not unknown, but little used, 279.
Human sacrifices, their cause, 363.
Hyperboreans, 19.

I

Iar-gbaël, its etymon, 202.
Ida, plains of, 371.
Ierna, its etymon, 170.
Jews believed not in a future state, 231.
Images, late in their reception in the north, 341.
Immortality of the soul, reflections on, 228.

Not coeval with man, 350. A proof, 349. Its mode, 251.
Incontinence, its punishment, 391.
Indians, their opinion of the earth, 3.
Instability of human affairs, 25.
Integrity of the ancient Britons, 237.
Innes, 78. Cuts off forty ideal Scottish monarchs, *ibid.* Censured, *ibid.* His arguments against the knowledge of letters in ancient Ireland, 114, &c. His opinion of the origin of the Scots, 145.
Ionians give letters to Greece, 19.
Ireland, called a British Island, 52.
Irish, their origin, 100. Of British extract, 101. Derive their blood from the Gaël, 105. Ignorant of the use of letters, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, &c. Their pretended civility, 115. Character of them by the ancients, 116. Their manners incompatible with the knowledge of letters, 122. Decisive proof against their knowledge of letters, 128. Their historians reprehended, 130. Their antiquities peculiarly obscure, 132. Their history unknown before the mission of St. Patrick, 133. Their Spanish extraction examined and confuted, 134, 135, 136. Their Scandinavian extraction confuted, 145. Descended from the Caledonian Britons, 148.
Ismisul, 341.
Isidorus, 171.
Judges, their origin, 394. Chosen annually by the people, 347. Mode of their election, *ibid.* Apply the law to the fact, 399.
Julian, the emperor, commended, 322.
Julius Solinus, his character of the old Irish, 111.
Juries, their origin, 396. Chosen by the litigating parties, 398. Judges of the fact only, 399. Form changed, 400. Judges of law as well as of fact, 401. Decided originally by a majority of voices, 402. Their original power, *ibid.*

Justice

I N D E X

Justice of the ancient Britons, 293.
Courts of prior to legislation, 396.

K

Kings, their office among the ancient Britons, 291. Dethroned for bad Crops, 338. Kings of the Anglo-Saxons, 380. Absolute in Scandinavia, 381. Lose their influence, 382. Descended from Odin, *ibid.* Dependent on the people, *ibid.* Disrespected and put to death by their subjects, 383. Dethroned for bad crops, 384. Acquire importance, 387. Their revenues, 391.
Kiminbiorg, what, 360.

L

Lace, gold, used by the ancient Gauls, 273. Silver Lace used by the Germans, 276.
Language, three languages in Europe, 45. Nations tenacious of their original tongues, 298. Cause of the connection between the French, Spanish, and Italian, 291. Celtic tongue once universal in Europe, 301. Compared with the Latin, 308.
Latin compared with the Gaëlic, 308.
Lean, or *Leuan*, what, 271.
Learning, its revival in modern Europe, 10.
Lechtbrafer, 371.
Lerader, a tree, 356.
Letters, their origin, 4. Their use in the middle ages, 10. Unknown in ancient Ireland, 114.
Lif, 371.
Log of wood the image of Odin, 341.
Logæ, 86.
Lollius Urbicus, 150.
Lombards, 305.
Lucensii, 132.

M

Magi, of Persia, 348.
Marcus Aurelius, repels the Sarmatæ, 35.
 Dies at Sirmium in Pannonia, 327.
Matter, not subject to annihilation, 368.

Mæatæ, 87.
Marcommani, 327.
Maroboduus, 147.
Marfi, a general massacre of them, *ibid.*
Maximus, his rebellion, 120.
Mela, Pomponius, his character of the Irish, 110.
Middle ages, ignorance of, 6. Subject to credulity, 9.
Milesian Scots, their migration from Spain an absolute fiction, 125.
Monarchy, its origin, 287. Less ancient than the popular form of government, 288.
Morality of the ancient Britons, 255.
Murder, punished, 392.

N

Navigation of the ancient Britons, 281.
Nennius, 183. His testimony deserves little attention, *ibid.*
Nomades, 21.
Northern nations, their aversion to letters, 8. Their migrations, 16. Their attachment to liberty, 377.

O

Oats and barley the only grain known in the north of Europe, 270.
Observations on language, 298.
Odin, the great God of the Sarmatæ, 334. The giver of blifs, 337. Devoted to death, *ibid.* His character, 340. His various names, *ibid.* •Worshipped under the figure of a sword, 341. The active first principle, 344. Drinks wine, 356. Destined to perish, 364.
Ogum, a species of stenography, 118.
Orosius examined, 171.
Offian, why no stress is laid on his authority, 206.
Ottadini, 87.

P

Palingenesia, 234.
Pannonia, invasion of, 30.
Paradise of the ancient Britons, 236. Placed in the western ocean, 237. Surrounded with tempest, *ibid.* Described,
 G g g

I N D E X.

scribed, 238. Different from that of Scandinavia, 237. Called Flath-Innis, or the Noble Island, *ibid.* Temporary and transient among the Scandinavians, 337. That of the Anglo-Saxons described, 338. Compared with that of the Druids, 373.

Parliament, its origin, 395.

Party-coloured garments, the universal taste among the Celtic nations, 274.

Pelasgi, 18. The first who settled in fixed abodes, 23. They seize on the coast of Italy, *ibid.* Chased from Peloponnesus, 230.

Pertinax repels the Sarmatæ, 328.

Peucini, 327.

Philosophy, first among the northern nations, 232. Produces scepticism, 334.

Pherecydes, wrote the first work in prose, 19.

Phoceans, build Massilia, 24. Introduce agriculture in Gaul, *ibid.*

Poetry, 255. Its effect on the character of the ancient Britons, 258, 259.

Polygamy used by the Sarmatæ, 326.

Pomponius Mela, his character of the Irish, 129.

Porphyrius mentions, for the first time, the Scots, 150.

Priests, ruin history, 6. Perpetual, 339. Believe their own fables, 336.

Principle, an active first, 335.

Printed linen used by the ancient British women, 273. By the Spanish women, 276.

Providence believed by the Celtæ, 215.

Psalter Cashel, the oldest record of Irish transactions, 116.

Ptolemy mentions the Saxons for the first time, 201.

Pyrrhenè, 24.

Pythagoras, 229.

R

Ragna-rockur, 348.

Re, 217.

Reflections on the history of ancient Britain, 11. On the invasions of the north-

ern Sarmatæ, 39. On the northern nations in general, *ibid.* On Irish antiquities, 95. On Scottish antiquities, 142. On religion, 210. On the origin of government, 286. On the fall of the Romans, 317. On a future state, 359.

Regner Lodbrog, his ode, 366.

Religion of the ancient British nations, 208. Subject to corruption, 213. Remark on religion, 210. Religion of the Anglo-Saxons, 334. Prior to civil regulations, 336.

Reuda, 178.

Representation, its origin, 292.

Rinnac, its etymon, 218.

Rise of nations, 7.

Robbery beyond the limits of the state not infamous, 294.

Rock of execution, what, 362.

Romans, established not their own language in their conquests, 299. In some measure the same with the Gaël, 300. Their origin, 306. Derive in part their language from the Celtæ, 307. Reflections on their fall, 317. In what different from other monarchies, *ibid.* The permanency of their empire, 318. Did not depend on the fate of their princes, 319. The extension of the freedom of the city, *ibid.* The debility of the provinces, 320. And of the army, 321. The removal of the seat of government, *ibid.* Gives the finishing stroke to their empire, 322.

Route, the same with Dalriada, 180.

Rugen, isle of, 381.

Rugii, *ibid.*

S

Sagum described, 328.

Sarmatæ, Europeans, 32. They cross the Baltic, 34. Settle between the Vistula and the Drave, *ibid.* Low stature when compared to the Celtæ, 264. Their want of neatness, 277. General reflections on them, 323. Their

I N D E X.

- Their obscurity, 324. Their character, 325. Their irruption into the South, 327. Superior ferocity, 337. Their Gods subject to human passions, *ibid.* Fierce and untractable, 340. Their souls returned not to earth, 374.
- Saxons*, the most unmixed branch of the *Sarmatæ*, 38. Their remote antiquities obscure, 315. Their origin, 331. The same with the *Angli*, *ibid.* Mentioned first by *Ptolemy*, *ibid.* Their depredations, 332. Possess by degrees the whole shore of the German ocean, *ibid.* Their religion, 334.
- Scandinavians*, fierce and untractable, 340. Disarmed, 381.
- Scepticism* proceeds from philosophy, 335.
- Scordisci*, 302.
- Scottia* first mentioned by a bishop of *Canterbury*, 234.
- Scots*, 89. Their genuine origin, 91. Destitute of domestic records, 77. Positive proofs of their *Caledonian* extract, 200, &c.
- Scythians*, general name of the northern nations, 20.
- Selgovæ*, 86.
- Senackies*, 257.
- Servants* not admitted into the *Valhalla*, 364.
- Severus* arrives in Britain, and his expedition into *Caledonia*, 152.
- Ships* of the ancient Britons described, 281. Manner of navigating them, 282.
- Shires*, 393.
- Shoes* of the ancient Britons, 275. Shoes of death, 358. Leathern shoes worn only by the Gods, 359.
- Simplicity* of the ancient Britons, 294.
- Singing*, a great amusement among the *Celtæ*, 252.
- Slavi*, the most obscure of the Barbarians who destroyed the Roman power, 39. They extended themselves to *Peleponnesus*, 38. And to *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*, 40. Derive their origin from the Tartars of the North and East, *ibid.*
- Sleipner*, *Odin's* horse, 366.
- Soul*, leaves all misery behind it in this world, 235. Visits at times this world, 242. A portion of the Divinity, 352.
- Stillington* confuted, 188.
- Strabo*, his character of the Irish, 109.
- Subaltern intelligences*, 216.
- Subordination* necessary to government, 402.
- Suevi* transplanted into Gaul, 138.
- Suicide*, in high repute, 362.
- Suiones*, a sea-faring people, 282.
- Sun*, detested by the *Æthiopians*, 335. Destined to perish, 337. Destroyed, 370. His daughter, 371.
- Superstition*, the mother of the Gods, 334.
- Syria*, the inventress of letters, 18.
- ## T
- Tacitus Cornelius*, his character of the Irish, 111.
- Tanais*, the eastern boundary of the *Celtæ*, 20.
- Taranis*, 212.
- Teutates*, *ibid.*
- Teutoni*, the etymon of their name, 34. Allies of the *Cimbri*, 35. Their grand expedition, *ibid.* The same with the *Scandinavian Sarmatæ*, *ibid.*
- Thales* first broached the immortality of the soul in Greece, 239.
- Theocracy*, a species of, among the *Celtæ*, 296.
- Thor*, 343. The same with *Odin*, *ibid.* His mansions of happiness, 359.
- Thracians*, their opinion of a future state, 353.
- Thule*, the same with *Iceland*, 283.
- Tigernach*, an Irish writer, 182.
- Tirochan*, writer of the life of *St. Patrick*, 114.
- Tithings*, 393.

Topical

I N D E X

Topical Gods, 346.

Towns of the ancient Britons, 280.

Tradesmen, not admitted into heaven, 357.

Traitors, their punishment, 391.

Twilight of the Gods, 355, 368.

V

Vaccæi, the most cultivated of the Spaniards, 127.

Valentia, province of, 170.

Valbala, destined to perish, 337. Succeeded immediately this life, 355. A receptacle of felicity, 286. Of conviviality and joy, *ibid.*

Valkyr, 357.

Valour, the only virtue among the Scandinavians, 262.

Vandals, 37. Their origin, 339. Endeavour to break into Pannonia, 35. Extend their conquests to Spain, Italy, and Africa, 37. The principles in the Scandinavian migration, 330.

Væsturiones, 200.

Vellabori, 132.

Venedi, 327.

Virgins, the messengers of Odin, 359.

Virius Lupus, purchases peace of the Caledonians, 151.

Vistula divided the Celtæ and Sarmatæ, 20.

Ulpus Marcellus, 75.

Umbri, 23. The most ancient inhabitants of Italy, 26. Were Gauls, *ibid.* Ancestors of the Tuscans and Sabins, 306. And in part of the Romans, 307.

Voluspa, 357.

Unity of God, 310.

Vortigern, 382.

Usher, Archbishop, his arguments in support of Bede, 180. Examined and confuted, 181.

W

War, the amusement as well as business of the ancient British Nations, 295.

Ware, Sir James, gives no credit to the pretensions of the old Irish to letters, 120.

Wealth, honoured among the Scandinavians, 381.

Welsh, their origin, 60.

Witnesses engage in single combat, 297.

Women, Celtic, their size, 263. Fair, blooming, and stately, *ibid.* Just and full in their proportions, *ibid.* Their character, *ibid.* High spirited, 264. Their amazing influence, *ibid.* Admitted to public deliberations, 265. Divine honours paid to them in their life-time, *ibid.*

— British, the ancient Britons fond of their government, 265. Female succession, *ibid.* Beauty of the British women, 267. Their chastity, 268. Not given away in marriage till their twentieth year, *ibid.* Their cloathing, 274. Their dress described, 276. Wear chains of gold, *ibid.*

— of the Anglo-Saxons precipitated into hell, 362. Indignity added to their punishment, *ibid.*

Wool, Spanish, very fine, 273. Coarse in Gaul, *ibid.*

World, its dissolution, 368. To be destroyed by fire, 369. Signs which usher in its dissolution, *ibid.* Description of it, 370. Supposed to be eternal by the Druids, 374.

Z

Zamolxes, 337. Presides over departed souls, *ibid.* Messengers to him, 353.

Zoroaster, 337.

Zythas, water diluted with honey, 271.



